

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Kings Majesties Affairs  
• IN  
SCOTLAND,

Under the Conduct of the most Honourable *James* MARQUES of

MONTROSE,

Earle of *Kincardin*, &c. and Generall  
Governour of that Kingdome,

In the Years, 1644, 1645, & 1646.

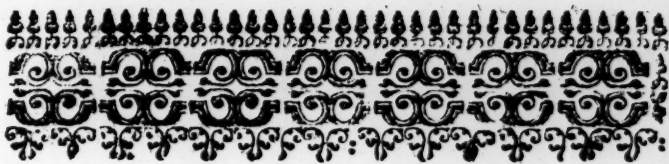


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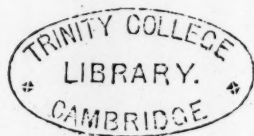
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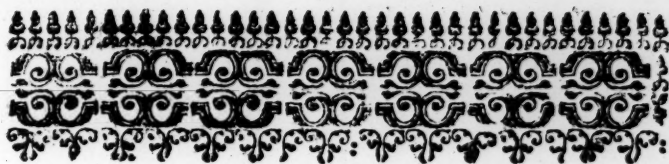
To the READER.

Puckering



Here are a few things (courteous Reader) of which I would not have them ignorant who shall chance to peruse this short History; whereof some concerne the Lord Marqueſſe of *Montroſe*, whose Actions in his Countrey for two yeares ſpace are here publiſhed; and others have relation to the Author of this worke. And firſt of all I deſire thee to take notice, that *Montroſe* is the Chiefe of that ancient and famous Family of the *Grahams*, and is called in old Scottiſh *Graham-more*, the great *Graham*. Hee derives his Pedegree from that famous *Graham*, in the Hiſtories of *Scotland*, who was ſon-in-law to *Fergus* the ſecond King of the *Scots*; and was the firſt (that with the aſſiſtance of his father-in-law) caſt downe that Trench which *Severus* had made and ſet out for the utmoſt limit of the Roman Empire, betweene the Scottiſh *Friſh* and the River of *Cluid*, at ſuch a place where Great *Brittaine* was narroweſt; and by that meanes cut the power of the *Romans* ſhorter. Whence it happens, that ſome evident remaines of that Trench retaineth his name amongſt the Inhabitants

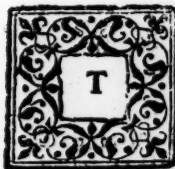




Edw

To the READER.

Puckering



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tants to this day, who call it *Gremesdike*. The same *Graham*, from whom this noble Family tooke its rise, surviving his father-in-law *Fergus*, and being a man as able for Civill as Military employment, was made Protector unto his Nephew, and Regent of the Kingdome; and after he had fetched backe the Doctors of the Christian Faith who had beene banished by the late Warres, and settled as well the Church as State with excellent Lawes, freely resigned the Government in o the hands of his Nephew when he came to age. He flourished in the time of the Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, about the yeare of our Lord CCCC. From whom hath descended in a faire and straight line a long and noble row of Posterity, who, imitating the virtue of their Ancestours, have been famous in the succeeding generations. Amongst whom that valiant *Graham* was eminent, who with the help of *Dumbarre*, so seasonably rescued his Countrey from the *Danes* who were then masters of *England*; and had frequently but with little successe invaded *Scotland* with mighty Armies. And in after times that noble *John Graham* came nothing behinde his Ancestors in virtue and honour, who after the death of *Alexander* the Third, in that vacation of the Kingdome while *Bruce* and *Bailiol* disputed their Titles, was (with that renowned Vice-roy *William Wallace*) a stout maintainer of his Countreys Liberty against the unjust oppression and tyranny of *Edward* King of *England*; and after many heroicall exploits, fighting valiantly for his Nation, dyed in the bed of Honour. His Tomb is yet to be seen in a Chappel which hath the name of *Falkirke* from the aforesaid *Gremesdike* by which it stands. Adjoyning unto which the  
Marquesse

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Marquesse of *Montrose* hath large and plentifull possessions, descended by inheritance unto him from that first *Graham*.

But lest I should seeme to derive the Nobility of so illustrious a Worthies extraction onely out of the rubbish of dusty and obscure Antiquity; I must not omit that his Grandfather the Earle of *Montrose* was advanced unto places of the greatest honour in that Kingdome, and discharged them most happily. For, being Lord Chancellour of *Scotland* at such time as King *James* the Sixth of blessed memory came to the Crowne of *England*, hee was created by him Vice-roy of *Scotland*, and enjoyed that highest Honour which a Subject is capable of with the love and good affection both of King and People to the day of his death. And his Father was a man of singular endowments both of body and mind, and so known to be both in forraign Countries and at home: who after hee had performed many most honourable Embassages for King *James*, was called to bee Lord President of the Session by King *Charles*; and being snatched away from his Countrey and all good men by an untimely death, was extremely lamented and missed. And what we may thinke or hope of the grandchild, I leave unto thee to judge by what hee hath done already, seeing hee is yet (now a yeare and a halfe after his employment in his Countrey) scarce entred upon the 36. yeare of his age.

One thing more I must add for thy sake (good Reader:) three Periods already have bene very dangerous and almost farall to the Kingdome of *Scotland*: the first by the oppression of the *Romans*, whose yoke our An-

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cestours cast off by the Conduct of that first *Graham* descended of the noble *Brittish* Family of the *Fulgentii*. The second by the *Danes*, the repulse of whom is owing especially to the prowess of the second *Graham* aforesaid. And the third by the *English* and *Normans*, whom the third *Graham* twice expelled out of *Scotland*, and gave them many and great defeats. So that (as it was of old spoken of the *Scipio's* in *Africk*) it seemes the name of *Graham* is something fatall to their enemies, and lucky to their Countrey at a dead list; and that it was not without the speciall providence of God Almighty, that in these worst times One stood up who did his best endeavours to maintain the Kings just Rights and Authority, the Peace, Safety, and Liberty of the Subjects, and the Honour and ancient splendor of his House. And this is all I thought good at this time to premise concerning the Lord Marquesse of *Montrose*.

And for the Author of the Booke take it briefly thus. He professeth himselfe to have beene but little conversant in these sort of studies, and expecteth neither credit or commendation for the strength of his wit (which he acknowledgeth to be little or none,) nor reward or profit for his paines; which two things are the chiefeest incentives to most to wet their pen: but that hee undertooke the businesse meerly out of a desire to propagate the truth to other Nations and to posterity. For he saw by late and lamentable experience in such a cause as this, that prosperous Villany can finde more advocates then down-cast Truth and goodnesse. For when the same confederates in both Kingdomes had by their owne arts (that is, by lying and slandering) ruined

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ruined the Church, to fill their bags with its Revenues so sacrilegiously purloyned, and enrich their posterity with plentiful *Anathemas* and accursed things; there wanted no store of men that extolled them for it to the skies, as men deserving highly from their Country, from the Church it selfe, and from all mankind: and reviled with all sort of reproaches and contumelies the most religious servants of God, holy Martyrs and Confessors, for withstanding them. And therefore he might well imagine, that these men, who by the same devices laboured to render his Majesty himselfe odious, and so to destroy Him, to enjoy his Honours and Revenues so traiterously and perfidiously purloyned; would easily finde men who should out of the like railing humour bespatter as much as in them lay this most excellent man, and all his honourable achievements; and (as it is said of waspes) poyson with their tongues or pens the juice of most sweet and wholesom flowers, and leave the lesse knowing, or lesse wary to suck it up. He was therefore pleased to offer this short and faithfull Narrative, as a seasonable antidote against that evill, to all that loved truth and plaine dealing: of which he would needs be so obstinate a maintainer, that although hee saw well enough how much envy and hatred it would derive upon himselfe, hee resolved hee would neither basely flatter any one, nor lap up that truth which they would not like to heare in obscure and doubtfull Expressions. For he professes, that as he is a Free-man borne and bred, so hee will never part with his Freedom till with his life. And although hee be ambitious of no other commendable quality of a good Historian, neither of wit, nor art, nor eloquence, yet



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yet hee seemes to challenge in his owne right the honour of sincere and exact truth: for the defence and propagation whereof hee hath set at nought all that was deare in this world; having been thrice plundered of all that he had, thrice imprisoned in a nasty and filthy jaile, and now the third time lives in banishment for the Truths sake. Yet he is merry and chearfull, that, being conscious to himselfe of no wrong as towards men, he is counted worthy of the Lord to suffer these things for truths and righteousness sake. And thou (good Reader) make much of him at last for his truths sake; excuse him for other things, and farewell.

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*Erratum.*

The Convention of Estates in Scotland, is sometimes in this Book call'd a Parliament.

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The



The Affaires of the King in SCOTLAND, under the  
 Conduct of the most Honourable *James* Marquesse  
 of *Montrose*, Earle of *Kinkardin*, &c. and Ge-  
 nerall Governour for His Majesty in  
 that KINGDOME,

*Elix* In the years 1644, 1645, & 1646.



Sometime *James* Marquesse of *Montrose* sided with the  
 Covenanters in *Scotland*, and very forwardly bestowed  
 his unhappily happy endeavours in their behoof. They  
 pretended to nothing then, lesse then the preservation of  
 Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Lawes of the  
 Land, and the freedome of that ancient Realme, so happily, so vali-  
 antly defended in time of yore from such powerfull enemies, as the  
*Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans*, by the sweat and bloud, with the  
 lives and estates of their Ancestours. And the tales they made they ne-  
 ver wanted fitting instruments to tell and spread among the people.  
 It was given out, that there was nothing more in the aime of the  
 Court of *England*, then that that free people being reduced to a kind  
 of Province, should be eternally enslaved under the power of their  
 old enemies. Yet all this while they engaged themselves by their  
 publique attestations, and even a solemne Oath, that they would ne-  
 ver goe to worke by force and armes, nor sollicite the King any other  
 way then by Petition, That he would be pleased gracionfly to accept  
 the supplications of his humblest Subjects, and to take order that  
 his dearest Countrey should suffer nothing in matter of Religion or  
 the liberty of the Subject.

But at last in the year 1639. *Montrose* found out that these faire  
 tales were coyn'd of purpose to steale the hearts of the silly and super-  
 stitious multitude, and to alienate them from the King, as an enemy  
 to Religion and Liberty. For the Covenanters did not dissemble to  
 him, but spoke out, that *Scotland* had beene too long governed by

Kings; nor could it ever be well with them as long as one *Stuart* (that's the surname of the Kings family in *Scotland*) was alive: and in the extirpation of them, they were first to strike at the head; so that *Montrose* easily perceived the Kings Majesty and Person was levelled at. Therefore vehemently detesting so horrible a crime, hee resolved to desert the Conspirators side, to frustrate their counsels, to impoverish their store, to weaken their strength, and with all his might to preserve His Majesty and his Authority entire and inviolate. But because betweene force and craft, the Covenanters had drawne in almost all the kingdome to their side, he saw himselfe alone too weak to check their power, and therefore thought not good to open himself too suddenly or rashly. Amongst them he had many friends, men very considerable, as well in regard of their numerous retinues and clients, as of their wealth and authority: these he had a minde to draw off from them, and bring them with him to the King; and by this meanes conceived he should be able to gather no small power, which would conduce much both to the Kings safety and his owne.

Meane time the Covenanters raise a strong army against the King, and in a solemne Convention at *Duns*, they determine to invade *England*: *Montrose* was absent then. Which resolution of theirs, the chiefe of the Covenanters had taken up in their cabinet counsels more then six weeks before; and to that purpose had been busie in divulging through all Great Britain their Apologeticall Pamphlets, whereby they laboured to set a good glosse upon the reasons of their Expedition. This resolution of theirs *Montrose* being returned, seeing he could not hinder, would not seem to disapprove: *Montrose* commanded in this army two thousand foot and five hundred horse, his friends (who were most obliged unto him, and had religiously promised their best endeavours in the Kings service) had the command of five thousand more. And truly if a great part of them had not beene worse then their words, they had either brought the whole Army along with them to the King, or at least had broken the neck of the Covenanters designs. When the Army came to the river of *Tweed* (which is the border of the two Kingdomes) dice were cast amongst the Noblemen and Commanders, and it was *Montrose's* his chance to passe first over the river; which he cheerfully performed on his feet, his own foot souldiers following him, that he might more easily conceale his own resolution, and take off all occasion of suspicion. For as well his authority in the Army, as the integrity of his noble  
spirit

spirit began to be looked on with a jealous eye by the guilty-conscienced Rebels. so that they diligently observed all his behaviour, words and deeds.

After this, marching over the river of *Tine* four miles above *Newcastle*, by the treachery of the English Commanders who had retreated to *Tork* with a potent Army of the Kings, the Scots possesse themselves of that Towne: and thereupon, Commissioners being appointed on either side to treat of a Peace, a Truce was presently made. In the time of this Truce, *Montrose* had sent letters unto the King, professing his fidelity, and most dutifull, and ready obedience to his Majesty; nor did the letters contain any thing else. These being stoln away in the night, and coppied out by the Kings own Bechambermen, men most endeared to the King of all the world, were sent back by them to the Covenanters at *Newcastle*: and it was the fashion with those very men to communicate unto the Covenanters from day to day the Kings most secret counsels, of which they themselves onely were either authors or partakers. And some of the forwarder sort of the Rebels were not ashamed to taxe *Montrose* bitterly enough with those letters: and although they durst not make an open quarrell of it, or call him publicquely to account, because he was so powerfull and welbeloved in the Army, yet they loaded him with backbitings and slanders among the people. For they had obliged unto themselves most of the Preachers throughout the kingdom, whose mecenary tongues they made use of to winde and turn the mindes of the people which way they would. Nor did they promote their Rebellion more effectually any other way, nor do yet, then this, to have those doughty Oratours in their popular preachments to raile bitterly against the King and all his loyall Subjects, as the enemies of *Christ* (as they love to speake,) being themselves the while the very shame and scandall of Christianity.

*Montrose* returning into *Scotland*, and thinking of nothing but how to preserve his Majesty from that storme of Rebellion hanging over his head, at last relolved of this course. He joynes many of the prime men for Nobility and Power, in a League with himselfe, in which they vowed to defend the Kings Majesty, and all his royall priviledges, and ancient and lawfull Prerogatives, with the hazard of their lives and estates, against all his enemies, as well home-bred, as forraigne, unto the last breath in their bodies. And truly it came to that passe, that there had been an open division in the Army (which was his aim) had not some for fear, levity, or cowardise (which are bad keepers

of counsell) betrayed the whole businesse to the Covenantes. Hence arose no small stirres and braules, but were pacified againe in a while; for neither yet durst they offer any open violence to *Montrose*. But afterward the confederates having given a new oath, made sure the Army at their devotion; and joyning themselves to the Parliament of *England* in a strict Covenant, although they saw themselves secure enough from the subtlest designs of any private man, yet they seriously consult how they should take *Montrose* out of the way, whose heroick spirit being fixt on high and honourable (howsoever difficult) achievements they could not endure.

To make their way therefore unto so villanous an act, by the assistance of some Courtiers whom with gifts and promises they had corrupted, they understood that the King had written letters to *Montrose*, and that they were quited in the saddle of the bearer, one *Stuart* belonging to the Earle of *Traguir*. The bearer was scarce entered the borders of *Scotland* but they apprehend him, rip his saddle and finde the letters. There was nothing at all written in them, which did not become the best of Kings to command, the best of Subjects to obey. Neverthelesse those most exact cratts-masters in the arts of Lying and Slandering set about horrible and tragicall reports by their apt Ministers, that at last all the Kings plots with *Montrose*, for the overthrow of Religion, and the ruine of the Kingdome were found out and discovered. Nor yet neither durst they afford him a publique tryall, but on a suddain when he suspected nothing, thrust him (with *Napier* Lord of *Marchiston*, and Sir *Sterling Keer* Knight, two both of his neer kindred and intimate familiars) into the castle of *Edinburgh*.

At length a Pacification being made between the people of both Kingdomes, (between whom there had been no war, onely they laid their heads together against their most just and gracious King) a Parliament was called at *Edinburgh*, where the King in person was present. *Montrose* desires most earnestly to be tryed before the King and that solemne Assembly; but to no purpose, for the Covenanters being conscious enough of his innocency and their own guilt, applyed their speciall endeavours to detain the Gentleman in prison unheard, untill such time as the King was got out of *Scotland*, and they had concluded all things with the King in Parliament according to their hearts desire. And certainly they were much afraid, lest by his wisdom, and courage, and the esteem he was in, as well with his Peers of the Nobility as with the people, he should have fetch't off the greatest

greatest number of either sort to his own resolution for the preservation of his Majesties Power and Authority. At last the King returning into *England*, *Monrofe* and his friends are set at liberty: and because it was ordered in Parliament that he should not come into conference with the King, he sat still a while at his own house. This was towards the end of the year 1641.

## CHAP. II.

IN the year 1642. the Covenanters of both Kingdomes began to unmask themselves, and let us see more plainly what they meant to do. The Rebels in *England* began to vex the King with unjust, unreasonable, unseasonable Petitions and Complaints, bespatter him with malicious slanders, prophane his sacred Name in scurrilous songs and Ballads, villifie him in infamous Libells, Pasquills or Pamphlets, raise Tumults, arme great numbers of the scumme and rascally sort of the people, and engage them upon the Kings palace; in a word, threaten all extremity to him and his: whom although he might have justly punished himself, yet he chose rather to refer them to the Parliament, that he might the more oblige it unto himself. But it was to no end for so gracious a King to gratifie that and many things more, to so ungracious, so ingratefull men, who were the very authors and abettors of these villanies. For he had already granted more and greater Graces to his Subjects, for the ease of their grievances (which they pretended,) and the security of their persons and estates, then all his ancestors the Kings of *England* together, from *William* the Conquerour downward. Therefore at last, that he might withdraw himself and his family from present danger, he is forced sore against his mind to depart *London*: He sends the Queen out of the way into *Holland* for the safety of her life, and betakes himself to *York*. The States of Parliament (as they call themselves) forthwith, and before the King, take up armes, and divert those very Forces which the King had appointed for *Ireland*, which were then in a readinesse, and whole Officers had been of the Parliaments chusing, hoping by them to overthrow the King himself.

The Rebels in *Scotland* who knew well enough the King would have strength sufficient to deale with the English Rebels, resolved upon no termes to be wanting to their confederates in so apparent danger as they were. And although our most gracious King had given them satisfaction (as much as ever they could desire) in that Par-

liament at *Edinburgh* afore said, which also they have recorded among their publique Acts, nevertheless they provide themselves for a march into *England*.

Now that they might the better secure their affaires at home, they labour tooth and naile to draw *Montrose* (of whom almost onely they were afraid) againe to their side. They offer him of their own accord the office of Lievtenant Generall in the Army, and what ever else he could desire and they bestow. He seeing a mighty storm hovering over the Kings head, that he might give him an account of it whereby it might be timely prevented, undertakes a journey into *England*, taking the Lord *Ogilby* into his counsell and company.

At *Newcastle* he receives newes that the *Queen* being newly returned out of *Holland* was landed at *Birdlington* in *Yorke-shire*: thither he makes haste, and relates unto the *Queen* all things in order. She, having had a rough passage, and being not well recovered from the distempers at sea, told him she would advise further with him about that businesse after they came to *Tork*. Thither being come, the *Queen* of her own accord calls for *Montrose*, he opens the whole story over againe, and makes it appeare, that there was no lesse danger from the Scotch then from the English Covenanters, if they were not timely suppressed. And being asked his opinion what was best to be done, answered, *To resist force with force*; told her, *the King wanted not Subjects in Scotland, faithfull men, and stout; nor did they want hearts, or wealth, or power to oppose against the Covenanters if they durst enterprise any thing against the King: all that they wanted was the Kings Commission, without which they durst doe nothing, with which any thing; and all the danger that was, was in delay: That the Covenanters, when they had once got their army on foot would be able to grinde any one to pieces that should offer to stirre; therefore the beginnings of so great an evill were to be withstood, and the cockatrice brused in the egge; that physicke being too late that comes when the disease hath over-runne the whole body.*

Wholesome counsell it was, and seasonable, which doubtlesse the most prudent *Queen* had approved of. But while things were going on in so good a posture, all things were quash't by the coming of the Duke *Hamilton* out of *Scotland*, upon pretence of kissing the *Queens* hand, and gratulating her happy returne, but in very deed that he might overthrow *Montrose* his counsels; for he had posted thither with the knowledge and consent of the Covenanters. Nor did he himself dissemble that there was some danger from the Scottish Covenanters



venanters, but he laboured to extenuate it ; and condemned the counsell of *Montrose* as rash, unadvised, and unseasonable. *That stout and warlike nation* was not to be reduced with force and armes, but with gentlenesse and courtesies : warre, especially Civill warre, should be the last remedy, and used many times to be repented of even by the Conquerours. The fortune of warre was uncertaine ; if the King should get the best, it would be but a sorry triumph he could enjoy over his own Subjects : but if he had the worst on't, he must expect what his soule (good man) abhorred to speake. All meanes were to be tryed to preserve peace with that Nation, nor were things yet come to that passe, that the King should despaire of amity and reconciliation with them : He would be ready to take the whole businesse upon himself, if the King pleased to commit it to his paines and trust, and to authorise him sufficiently thereunto. *Montrose* replied, nothing would come of that but the delay of time, untill the Traitors having raised an Army should prevent the King of any meanes to deliver himself and his party from their tyranny. The sad event proved all this to be too true ; but in this debate *Montrose* was faine to suffer himself to be overborn, being not so great a Courtier as the other ; nor were those virtues, which the world now admires discovered then unto the Queen. *Hamilton* returning into Scotland seemed to be as active for the King as was possible.

The Covenanters meanwhile by their owne authority (contrary to the known Lawes of the Kingdome) summon a Parliament at *Edinburgh* ; which all understanding men that wished well unto the King foresaw would be of very dangerous consequence to his affaires, and therefore abhorred it so much that they intended not to honour it with their presence. But *Hamilton* interposing the name and authority of the King, invited them by his letters that they would not faile to be all there ; and that they shou'd not doubt but they would be able to out-vote the Covenanters, if at this time they were not wanting to the Kings cause. And if it should happen otherwise, he would be ready with his friends, to protest against the Covenanters, and immediately to leave them. Abundance of the Nobility incited by the name of the King, and those hopes, were present at that Parliament, onely *Montrose* and a few of his adherents staid away. And with *Montrose* too the Duke had dealt by his friends, that as he loved and honoured the King he would joyn himself unto them. But he (who had reason to suspect all motions that came that way) answered, that he was ready to grapple with any difficulty  
especiall

especially under his command who had so great an honour as to be the Kings supreme Commissioner ; onely on this condition, that the Duke should engage his honour, that if they could not bring up that Parliament to righteous things, he would endeavour to enforce them by the dint of the sword. He answered, he would protest, he would not fight. Which passage considered, *Montrose* to preserve his integrity, expecting the issue, betooke himself to his own home.

In that Parliament, the Covenanters out-voted the Loyall party by seventy voyces or thereabouts, trampled upon the Royall authority, arrogated unto themselves the power of calling of Parliaments, pressing souldiers, sending Embassadours, and other things hitherto unattempted, without the Kings knowledge or consent. And to make up the measure of their presumption and treason, ordaine that a powerfull Army shall be raised against the King, and in the aid of their confederates of *England*. To which purpose, they taxe the people with new subsidies and levies, much heavier, then if all the Impositions which upon never so much necessity for two thousand years space by one hundred and nine Kings have been charged upon them, were put together.

*Montrose* therefore, who saw the King was like to be ruined by his own authority, and saw too that he was too weaké to oppose himself both against the strength of the Covenanters and the Kings abused Commission, in a melancholy mood made as if he took no notice of any thing. And the Covenanters, supposing that he had received some distaste from the King, by reason of the affront he received at *Torke*, and *Hamiltons* over-powering him, they set upon him yet againe, privately and by friends, to see if by intreaty or interest they could draw him to their side ; offering him authority and wealth, even the greatest Honour Civill and Military. Which offers he did not seem much to slight, that by that meanes he might have an easier way to dive into their counsell. The Covenanters that this growing friendship might be the better cemented and sanctified (God blesse us) send unto him that great Apostle of their Covenant, *Alexander Henderson*, who should give him full satisfaction in all his scruples. *Montrose* heartily desired to speake with that fellow, out of whom he doubted not to pump all the secrets of the Covenanters : and lest a private meeting with such a man should give a scandall to the Kings friends, he tooke the Lords, *Napier* and *Ogleby*, and Sir *Sterling Keere* to be witnesses of the discourse, and on the bank of the river *Forth* not far from *Sterling* they met.

*Montrose*



*Montrose* made as though he accounted himselfe very happy, and much honoured in the visit of so worthy a man, upon whose faith, honesty, and judgement, he so much relied. Told him, *That to give the ill opinion of his enemies leave to breath it selfe after some late mistakes, he was content to stay at home; that he knew nothing of what was done in Parliament; that he was almost at a losse how to behave himselfe in that ticklish condition the Common-wealth stood; and therefore beseecked him for old acquaintance sake to let him freely know what they intended.* *Henderfont* taking it for granted by these expressions that he was wheeling about towards the Covenanters, that he might the more oblige the *Marquesse* unto him, answered him flatly and without more adoe, *That it was resolved to send as strong an army as they could raise, in aid of their brethren of England against the Kings forces; that the Covenanters of both Kingdomes had unanimously agreed upon this, either to dye or bring the King to their lure; that nothing could fall out more happily, then that he should renew his friendship with his Peers of the Nobility, and the rest of the Kingdome; that so doing he would give great content to all men, besides the honour and profit that would redound to himselfe; that by his example others (if others there were) that idolized the empty shadow of the Kings name, would joyne themselves unto the Covenanters; and for his owne part he would give most hearty thanks unto his Lord God that he had vouchsafed to make use of him as the Minister and ever Mediatour of so great a worke; and at last entreated him to speake out his minde, and commit all such things to his care and industry as he should desire from the Parliament, either in relation to his honour or profit; assuring him he should be satisfied to his hearts desire.*

*Montrose* having gotten out the knowledge of those things which he eagerly sought for, now bethought himselfe how he should keep *Henderfont* and his party insu'pence a while, that they should not yet get within him. For what answer could he give them? If he should professe himselfe to be against their courtes, that would doe the King no good, and might bring a great deale of danger upon himselfe; and on the other side, to put them in greater hopes of him, by promising those things he never meant to performe, he scorned, as being a stain unto his honour. Therefore he takes this course; there was present at that conference with *Henderfont* one *Sir James Rollock*, Chiefe of a very ancient and flourishing family; his former wife had been *Montrose* his sister, after whose death he married the

sister of the Marquess of *Argyle*, the ring-leader of the Covenanters in Scotland: thus being allied unto them both, he seemed to be a very fit mediator of friendship between them. *Montrose* asks him whether those things which had passed between them proceeded from the direction of the Parliament, or out of their owne good wills? He answered, he conceived that *Mr. Henderson* had received Commission from the Parliament to that purpose; but *Henderson* said no, but he made no question but the Parliament would make good any thing that he promised. *Montrose* told them, he could resolve upon nothing except he had the Publique Faith to build upon, especially the messengers disagreeing between themselves. Whereupon (as the fashion is on such occasions) one of them layes the blame upon the other, when both of them ought rather to have condemned their owne carelesnesse and negligence. The conference being thus ended, *Montrose* having obtained his ends, and they being no wiser then they came thither, every one went his own way.

### CH A P. III.

*Montrose* being returned from this Conference, related all things as they had passed unto some select friends whom hee could safely trust; and withall entreated them, that (for the greater confirmation of the businesse) they would all goe along with him to the King; that his Majesty receiving a full account of all things might lend his eare to sound counsell, and yet (if it was possible) provide a remedy against to threatening evils. Most of them were of opinion, *That the King and his authority were utterly ruined and irrecoverable; that it was a thing passing the power of man to reduce that Kingdom to obedience; that for their parts they had acquitted themselves before God, and the world, and their owne consciences; that hitherto with the disgrace of their persons, the losse of their estates, and the hazard of their lives they had continued in their allegiance; hereafter they would be onely lookers on, and petitioners unto Almighty God for better times.* *Montrose* who could by no means be removed from so honest a resolution, communicating his counsell to the Lord *Ogilby*, (whom of all men he especially loved) goes straight to *Oxford*. The King was absent thence, being gone to the siege of *Glocester*, he imparts unto the Queen what desires the Scottish Covenanters had against his Majesty; but he had as good have said nothing, for she had determined not to beleieve a word, by reason of

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the farre greater confidence she reposed in *Hamilton* and his brother.

*Montrose*, seeing no good was to be done with the *Queen*, goes to *Glocester*, and declares all things to the King himselfe : How there was a powerfull army to be raised in Scotland, and a day appointed on which it should be brought into England; how their counsels were manifestly knowne unto him; and how to fetch him over so their side, they had offered him very honourable Commands in the army; but that he heartily detesting so horrid an employment had fled to his Majesty; that he having notice thereof, if he were not able to provide so timely and powerfull a remedy as could be wished, at least might cast some blocks and rubs in their way untill such time as he had settled his affaires in England; that the traitours of either Kingdome might be easily dealt withall by themselves, but if they came once to joyne their forces they would be hardly suppress; that there were very many in Scotland who would sacrifice themselves and all that they had for their dearest King, whose good will would be of no use unto his Majesty after the Covenanters had raised their army, but destructive unto themselves; that the haughty spirits of the Traitors were to be snapt in time, and their strength broken before it grew too big, lest the beginnings being neglected, repentance should prove the only opposition that could be made afterward. These things, and to this effect did *Montrose* continually presse unto the King, but in vaine, for he had not onely the strong and deeply rooted confidence his Majesty had of the *Hamiltons* to struggle with; but the devices of a set of desperate Courtiers beside, who daily buzzed in the Kings eares *Montrose's* youth, his rashnesse, his ambition, the envy and hatred he bare unto the *Hamiltons*, and what not; and on the other side, the *Hamiltons* fidelity, their honesty, their discretion, their power. Thus *Montrose* nothing prevailes, and the King returns to his winter quarters at *Oxford*. And although his Majesty saw very well (reports coming thick and threefold of the Scottish army) that all was true that *Montrose* had told him, yet the most religious King determined upon no termes to give any occasion of quarrell to the Scots till first they entered England; resolving that he for his part would perfectly observe the Articles of Pacification he had made with them, which if they should violate, he doubted not but they should highly answer it both to God and him. While these things were discussed at *Oxford*, the Covenanters in Scotland bring their businesse about according to their desires, no one opposing them. They raise as big an army as they

can, which consisted of eighteen thousand Foot and two thousand Horie ; and at last when they had marched unto the very borders, the *Hamiltons* were not ashamed to give the King notice by letters of the approach of that formidable Army ; making this their excuse, that according to their engagement they had prevented an invasion the summer before, but now that winter was come on they were able to keep them out no longer, but they would come in immediately with a powerfull Army. The King when he saw himselfe thus grossly abused sends for *Montrose*, shewes him the *Hamiltons* letters, and at last (when it was even too late) asks his advice what was best to be done.

*Montrose* tells him, that his Majesty might now see that what he had before given him notice of had neither proceeded from ambition, nor malice, nor any self-ends, but from his bounden duty and allegiance; that for above a twelve-month hee had been continually pressing both their Majesties to prevent this ; that he accounted himselfe very unhappy that all that while so faithfull a servant, could not be credited by so good a Master ; that the case seemed now desperate, but if the King had a minde he might trust them againe who by pretence of his authority had bound some of his friends hands that they could not assist him and drawn in others who intended nothing lesse under colour of Loyalty to fight against him, and given up unto the Rebels, now that they had got an army, all that they had without striking a stroke. The King complaining that he was most abominably betrayed by them with whom he had entrusted his Crowne, his Honour, his Secrets, his Life, earnestly demanded his advice. He repeating againe the lamentableness of the condition in which things now stood, nevertheless offered, that if his Majesty so thought good, he would either lose his life, which if he did, he would be sure it should seeme rather sold then lost, or else (which he did onely not despaire) he would reduce his Country men and bring the Rebels there into subjection. The King being no little pleased with the confidence, undauntednesse, and gallantry of the man, that he might more advisedly contrive his designe, desired him to take two or three dayes to consider of it, and so dismissed him.

*Montrose* returning at the time appointed, shewes his Majesty how desperate an adventure he was undertaking; that all *Scotland* was under the Covenanters command, that they had garrisoned all places of strength, that they were plentifully provided both of men and money, and armes, and ammunition, and victuall, and all things necessary

necessary for a Warre; that the English Rebels were joyned with them in a most strict Covenant to defend one another against all the world. But for his owne part he had nothing to set up with, neither men, nor armes, nor pay; yet he would not distrust Gods Assistance in a righteous cause, and if the King would lay his Commands upon him he would undertake to doe his best. The King should be in no worse case then he was, He himselfe would take what malice, envy, or danger should fall upon himselfe, so that his Majesty were graciously pleased to condescend to a few reasonable requests. And first, that the businesse might go on more successfullly, it seemed to him very necessary that the King should send some souldiers out of *Ireland* into the west of *Scotland*. Next, that he should give order to the *Marquesse* of *Newcastle* (who was the Generall of the Kings forces towards *Scotland*) that he should assist *Montrose* with a party of horse to enter the south of *Scotland*, by which meanes he might convey himselfe into the heart of the Kingdome. Then, that he should deal with the King of *Denmarke* for some troops of *Germane* horse. And lastly, that his Majesty should take some course to procure and transport some armes out of some forraigne countrey into *Scotland*: nothing needed more but humane indutry, the successe was Gods part, and to be referred to his providence. The King commending his counsell, and giving him thanks that he apprehended some life in the businesse, encourageth him to fit himselfe cheerfully for so great a worke, and wished him to leave the care of those things he had requested unto him.

And truly for the matter of aid out of *Ireland*, the King sends for the Earle of *Antrim*, and acquaints him with *Montrose's* design. This *Antrim* is of Scottish extraction, descended of the noble and ardent Family of the *Mac-Donalds*, a man of great estate and power in *Ireland*, and allyed to the prime Nobility of *England*, by matching with the Duchesse of *Buckingham*. He being driven out of his owne countrey lived at *Oxford*, and cheerfully undertooke the negotiation with the *Irish* upon himselfe, and engaged himselfe also voluntarily unto *Montrose*, that he would be in *Argyle* (a part of *Scotland* bordering upon *Ireland*) with ten thousand men by the first of *Aprill* 1644. this passed in *December* 1643. And as for forraigne aides and armes, the King sent Sir *John Cockeram* his Embassadour about it with his Commission and Instructions. And directions unto the *Marquesse* of *Newcastle* were carried by some of *Montrose's* own company. Who receiving the Kings Letters and Commission to be Governour of

*Scotland*, and Generall of the Army there, made himselfe ready for his journey. In the interim newes comes on a sudden, that Duke *Hamilton* with his brother the Earle of *Lanerieke* were posting up to *Oxford*. They, that they might make their accessse easier to the King who had hitherto given eare unto their counsell, and to continue or recover the good opinion the King had of them, gave out all the way as they came, especially unto Governours of Shires and Townes, and Commanders of the Army, that they were banished their Countrey, that they had been plandered of their estates by the Covenanters for their loyalty to the King, and that for safety of their lives, with which they had hardly escaped, they fled to *Oxford*. But *Montrose* and those of his minde saw plainly that these were but tales of their own making, of purpose to wipe off the suspicion of this new guilt; and that by this meanes, they in confidence of that esteeme they had lately with the King, and of a strong faction they drove at Court, doubted not but they should stand as fair in his opinion as ever, if they were but once admitted into the Kings prelence; and that the onely business they had thither, was by defeating *Montrose* againe, clearly to extinguish that little sparke of Loyalty that was not yet quite out in *Scotland*. And *Montrose* delivered himselfe freely, that for his part he would never stand by to be witness of so great an oversight: and therefore humbly besought the King that he would give him leave to seeke his fortune in some forraigne countrey, if these men that had deceived him so oft should be received againe into favour: not that he desired any severity should be used against them, onely he wished the King might have a care that they should do him no more harme. The King was drawne with much adoe that they should be forbidden the Court, yet for all that he suffered the Earle of *Lanerieke* to live in the City. But he (by whose instigations I cannot tell) betakes himself from *Oxford* to *London* to the Parliament of *England*, and not long after to the Scotch Army which had now entered *England*, and never since hath failed to do: them the best service he could. The escape of his brother so much moved the King, that he saw it high time to secure the Duke himself.

There were severall Scots in the Kings Court and Army who were suspected (and perhaps not without reason) to favour the Covenanters too much, and to give intelligence unto them of the Kings counsels. *Montrose* that he might put these to the touch tooke this course, He got a Protestation to be drawne up by the Kings authority, unto which all Scots who would have the reputation of honest men were



to set their hands; Wherein they professed themselves heartily to detest the courses of the Covenanters, condemned especially the bringing in of an army into England against the King and the Lawes of the Land as an act of high treason; promised and vowed to acquit themselves of that scandall, and to the utmost of their power, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to oppose those that were guilty of that crime. This Protestation all men of honour and honesty readily tooke; but there were two, in whom the King trusted most of all Scotch men next to the *Hamiltons*, to wit, the Earle of *Trequare*, and Mr. *William Murray* of the Bed chamber, who were difficultly brought unto it at last, with much reluctancy and fear of being discovered traitours: yet even they engaged themselves by a solemn Oath, at a certain day to be aiding and assisting unto *Montrose* in Scotland; which Oath of theirs afterward they most unworthily violated.

This being done, and *Montrose* on his journey from *Oxford* towards *Scotland*, those that were the *Hamiltons* creatures, and other false-hearted Courtiers began to blast the Honour of *Montrose*, to call him a vaine and ambitious man who had attempted an impossible thing: to extoll above measure the power of the Covenanters, and that they might deterre every one from engaging himself in so noble an exploit, gave out every where most maliciously, that no good was ever to be expected from *Montrose*.

He being little troubled with the calumnies of unworthy men, came forward to *Torke* and so to *Durham*: where he sees that the Kings Instructions be sent to the Marquesse of *Newcastle*, and the next day they met and conferred. *Newcastle* discours't of nothing but the distresses and necessities of his Army; how the Rebell Scots breaking in in the midst of winter had spoiled his Recruits, and that now in farre greater numbers then he they quartered within five miles of him; that he could not possibly spare any Horse without a manifest hazard to the whole Army. *Montrose* urged on the other side, that nothing could do *Newcastle* more service then to let him have a party of Horse (in which he was very strong) with him into *Scotland*, that so he might either divert, or at least divide the enemy, and by kindling a fire in their owne houses fetch them home againe to defend themselves. *Newcastle* courteously replied, that as soon as he had wound himself out of that pretent danger, he would not be wanting in any service to *Montrose*: which promise, there is no doubt but a person of so much Honour and Loyalty would most surely have performed, had he continued any while in the Command

mand of those parts. In the meane time, all that he could do for the present was, to afford him about one hundred Horse, but lean ones, and ill accounted, (which was not the Generals fault but some mens private spleen) with two brasse Field-pieces.

Moreover he sent his Orders unto the Kings Officers and Commanders in *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, that they should give *Montrose* all the succour and assistance they could make for his journey into *Scotland*. *Montrose* going towards *Carlisle* was accordingly met by the *Cumberland* and *Westmorland* men, consisting of eight hundred Foot, and three troops of Horse; who according to the Marquess of *Newcastles* Command, were to waite upon him into *Scotland*. *Montrose* himselfe brought with him two hundred Horse, most of them Noblemen and Gentlemen, and such as had been Captains either in *Germany*, *France*, or *England*. With which small forces (nor over trusty neither) he entered *Scotland* on the 23. of *April*; for he made the more halt, lest he should have been absent at the time appointed by the Earl of *Antrim*.

### CHAP. III.

**M***ontrose* having entred *Scotland* had come to the river of *Anan*, when upon a mutiny among the English, occasioned by *Richard Graham's* Souldiers, almost all of them flie their Colours, and in all halt runne back to *England*. Notwithstanding he with his own men came to *Dunfrise*, and took the Towne into protection upon surrender: and there he staid a while that he might be ready to entertaine *Antrim* and his *Irish*; but the day appointed being already past, there came not so much as a Messenger from them, nor the least report of them into *Scotland*. And the Covenanters gathering themselves together on every side, there was no staying there any longer for *Montrose*, without being surpris'd; therefore he returns safe to *Carlisle* with his men. And seeing he could neither procure any aid from the English nor expected any Forraigners suddenly, nor had scarce any hopes of good from *Ireland*; and found that the Earle of *Calendar* had raised a new Army in *Scotland* to second General *L. sly*, who had by this time together with the English Covenanters besieged *Torke*, he resolved, lest he should spend his time idly, to engage himselfe among the Kings Forces in *Northumberland* and the *Bishoprick*; nor was that resolution either unprofitable to them, or dishonourable to himself.



For having ferretted a Garrison of the Covenanters out of the towne of *Morpeth*, he took in the Castle, permitted all the pillage unto the English, and taking an Oath of them that had held it, that they should never more fight against the King, he sent them away without any greater punishment. He tooke a Fort at the mouth of the river of *Tine* from the Covenanters, (who had not long before turned out an English Garrison from thence) and dismiss the prisoners upon the same termes with those of *Morpeth*. He plentifully victualled *Newcastle* with corne brought from *Alnwick*, and other places thereabouts. When this was done, he was sent for by letters from Prince *Rupert* Count Palatine of *Rhine*, who was then coming to raise the siege of *Yorke*. And although he made all the haste he could, yet he met not the Prince till he was upon his retreat the day after that unfortunate battell. And truly the Prince freely offered *Montrose* a thousand Horse to take along with him into *Scotland*, but some that were too powerfull with him dealt so with the good Prince, that the next day after that promise was made there was not one horse to be had.

All things thus failing *Montrose* from which he expected any assistance, yet his spirit never failed him: therefore returning to *Carlisle* with those few but faithfull and gallant men that stuck close to him, he sends away the Lord *Ogleby* and Sir *William Rollock* into the heart of *Scotland* in meane disguise, lest they should be discovered by the enemy. Within a fortnight they returned, and brought word that all things in *Scotland* were desperate; all Passes, Castles, Townes, possessed with Garrisons of the Covenanters, nor could they finde any one so hardy as to dare to speake reverently or affectionately of the King. Most of those who had adhered to *Montrose* all this while, being cast downe with this sad newes, bethought themselves of bending their courses some other way, especially when they were tampered with by that honest man the Earle *Traquair* to desert the service: who forgetting all his vowes and imprecations he had made before the King, undertook in the name of the Covenanters, not only for Indemnity to all that should fall off unto them, but rewards and preferments too; as if he had been all this while an Agent for the Rebels, and not for the King, as he pretended. And yet this man was greater in the Kings favour, and more confided in then any one except the *Hamiltons*.

*Montrose* calling his friends to counsell; desires them to deliver their opinions what they conceived was fittest to be done in this sad

face of things. Some adviſe him to repaire to the King at *Oxford*, and certifie him that his Scotch Affaires were paſt recovery; that *Antrim* came not with his Irish Forces, nor was there any appearance of them; that little or no aſſiſtance had been obtained from the Engliſh; and as for Armes or aid from Forraigne parts, he had not ſo much as heard a word of them; ſo that it was none of his fault that his ſervice had no better ſucceſſe. Others were of opinion that it was better for him to excuſe himſelf by Letters unto the King, and to ſend up his Commiſſion along with them, and that he himſelf ſhould ſtep a while aſide into ſome other Countrey till ſuch time as it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend better opportunities. But all agreed in this, that nothing more was to be attempted or thought of in *Scotland*. But he himſelf onely entertained farre other thoughts in his high and undaunted ſpirit: He conceived himſelfe bound never to forſake his deareſt Lord the King though in extreameſt hazards, and that it was an unworthineſſe to deſpaire of ſo good a cauſe; and if he ſhould attempt ſome greater matter then came within the reach or apprehenſion of common men, he conjectured it might prove much to his owne Honour, and ſomething perhaps to the Kings good too. For as it was dubious whether it might pleaſe God in his mercy to looke upon the King with a more favourable eye, and to turne his adverſity into proſperity; ſo it was moſt certaine that if he ſhould not be able to goe thorough with it but periſh in the enterpriſe, he ſhould die with Honour, and his fall ſhould be much lamented. So reſolved, and commending himſelfe and his ſucceſſe to the diſpoſall and protection of Almighty God, he performed ſuch Adventures without men, without money, without armes, as were not onely to the aſtoniſhment of us that were preſent, and were eye and eare witneſſes of them, but alſo the example and envy both of all great Commanders hereafter. What thoſe were we ſhall declare by and by.

*Montroſe* delivers thoſe few Gentlemen that had been conſtant unto him to the Lord *Gleby*, to be conducted unto the King, (for as he had communicated all his former deſignes unto him, ſo he did this alſo) and conjureth him withall to deale earneſtly with his Majeſty for haſtning of ſome aid, if not of Men yet of Armes at leaſt, from beyond ſeas. So he accompanying them two dayes on their journey, and leaving with them his Horſes, his Servants, and his Carriages, conveyed himſelf privily away from them, and with what ſpeed he could came back to *Carlisle*. The company ſpecting nothing of  
his

his departure, because *Ogleby* and other his dearest friends were still with them, marched on itraight towards *Oxford*; but thither they never reached, for most of them (of whom were the Lord *Ogleby* himself, Sir *John Innes*, and Colonell *Henry Graham* his brother, a most hopefull young Gentleman, *James, John*, and *Alexander Oglebyes*, *Patrickke Melvin*, and other gallant men, and highly esteemed by *Montrose*) fell into the enemies hands, and endured a long and nasty imprisonment untill they were set at liberty by *Montrose* himself the next yeare, after which they did him most faithfull service. He returning to *Carlisle* imparts his designe to the Earle of *Aboine*, least he should have any occasion to cavill afterwards, that a matter of that consequence was done without his knowledge or advice, who might have proved able to give a great stroke to the advancing of it. But when he found something too much sicklenesse in that young man, he was not over earnest to engage him to adventure with him in so perillous a journey; and therefore easily perswaded him to reside at *Carlisle* till he heard further newes out of *Scotland*, by which time it might be more seasonable for him to returne into his Country.

And now being prepared for his journey, he selected onely two men for his companions and guides; one was Sir *William Rollock*, a Gentleman of most knowne honesty, and an able man both of his head and hands. The other was one *Sibbald*, whom for the report of his valour and gallantry, *Montrose* did equally love and honour: but the latter afterwards deserted him in his greatest need. *Montrose* passing as *Sibbalds* man, and being disguised in the habit of a Groome, rode along upon a leane jade, and led another horse in his hand. And so he came to the borders where he found all ordinary and safe passes guarded by the enemy. There was a chance happened which put them in a greater fright then all that, and it was this; not farre from the borders they hit by chance upon a servant of Sir *Richard Gramms*, who taking them for Covenanters, and to be of *Lesley's* Army who used to range about those parts, told them freely and confidently that his Master had made his peace with the Covenanters, and had undertaken (as if he were their Centinell) to discover unto them all such as came that way whom he suspected to favour the King. An unworthy act it was of a shamelesse villaine, of whom, not onely *Montrose* had a very high esteem, but his Majesty also, whose mistaken bounty had raised him out of the dunghill (to

lay no worse) unto the honour of Knighthood, and an estate even to the envy of his neighbours.

Having not passed much further, they met a souldier, a Scotchman, but one that had served under the Marquesse of Newcastle in England, who taking no notice of the other two Gentlemen, came to Montrose and saluted him by his name: *Montrose* giving no heed unto him, as if he were no such man, the too officious souldier would not be so put off, but with a voyce and countenance full of humility and duty began to cry out, *What? Doe not I know my Lord Marquesse of Montrose well enough? Goe your way, and God be with you whither soever you goe.* When he saw it was in vaine to conceale himself from the man, he gave him a few crownes and sent him away, nor did he discover him afterwards. But *Montrose* conceiving himselfe much concerned in these speeches, thought it the best courie to make all the haste he could, and to run faster then the newes of him could flie: nor did he spare any horse flesh, or scarce draw a bridle till after foure dayes travell he came to the house of his cousin *Patrick Graham* of *Innisbrake*, not farre from the river of *Tay* on that side of the Sherifdome of *Perth* which is next the mountains. This *Patrick* being descended of the noble family of *Montrose*, and not unworthy of so noble parentage, was deservedly in very great esteeme with the Marquesse; who sojourned besides him for a little while in the day time in a meane cottage, and passed the nights alone in the neighbouring mountains. For he had sent away his companions unto his friends, that they might inform themselves exactly of the whole state of the Kingdome, and bring him word in what condition they found it.

After a few dayes, having examined the matter with all the industry they could use, they returne with nothing but sad and tragically newes: *That all the Subjects that were honest and loyall, lay under the tyranny of the Rebels; and of such as had been so hardy as to endeavour to recover their freedome with their swords, some were put to death, others fined, others being yet in prison, daily expected the worst their enemies could doe: That the Marquesse of Huntley had laid downe the armes which too unadvisedly he had taken up at the first summons of the enemy; that indeed he had had no contemptible number of men, but the men wanted a good Commander; that his friends and dependants were exposed to the implacable malice and revenge of their enemies, and that he himself had fled to the uttermost.*

most corner of the land, and sculked upon another main land. *Montrose* was very much troubled (as he had reason) at this newes, especially at *Huntley's* error and the ruine of the *Gordons*, who were men of singular loyalty and valour, and expert souldiers, therefore much lamented by him, that for no fault of theirs, they should come to so great misfortune. And now he began to cast about how he might draw them to himself, that they might try againe the fortune of Warre under another Generall in the behalf of his most excellent Majesty.

## CHAP. V.

**I**N the meane time there were some uncertaine reports spread abroad among the Shepheards who kept their flocks in the mountaines, of certaine *Irish* who were landed in the North of *Scotland*, and ranged about the mountaines. *Montrose* conceived it not unlikely that these might be part of those Auxiliaries which the Earle of *Antrim* had promised should have been there four moneths before: but he had no certainty what they were, till at last some letters came from some intimate friends of his, Highlanders, and from *Alexander Mac-donell*, a Scotch-man also, to whom *Antrim* had given the Command in Chiefe of those few *Irish*, directed to *Montrose*. These they had taken care to send to a certaine friend of his, a sure man, that he might convey them if it were possible to *Carlisle*, where *Montrose* was beleev'd still to remaine. He, who never dreamed of *Montrose's* returne into *Scotland*, though he sojourn'd by him, by chance acquainted Mr. *Patrick Graham* with the businesse, he promiseth to take charge of them, and undertaketh to see them safely delivered to *Montrose*, though he made a journey as farre as *Carlisle* of purpose; and so by the good providence of God they came into his hands much sooner then could be expected. And he writes backe, as from *Carlisle*, that they should be of good comfort, for they should not stay long either for sufficient assistance to joyne with them, or a Generall to command them; and withall requires them forthwith to come down into *Athole*.

The people of *Athole* were engaged unto *Montrose* by many obligations, men whom he valued most of all the Highlanders, both for their Loyalty, Piety, Constancy, and singular Valour; and truly they made good his opinion of them to the very end of the Warre. The *Irish*, with a very few Highlanders who were almost all of *Baden*

noth, receiving *Montrose's* commands, marched straight into *Athole*. He, who was not above twenty miles from them, comes to them immediately, and or ever they looked for him, on foot, in the habit of a Mountanier, without any man along with him save the above said *Patrick Graham* his guide and companion. And indeed the Irish would hardly be perswaded that that was *Montrose*; but when they saw him so saluted, and onely not adored like some great Deity, by the men of *Athole* and others that knew him well, they were overjoyed: for his coming to them was in exceeding good time, they being then in extreame danger to be cut off. For *Argyle* was in their reare with a strong and well ordered Army, the champaine countrey were ready in armes before them; expecting, if they should make dpwyne into the Plaine, to trample them to dirt with their horses hooves; the vessels that brought them over were burnt by *Argyle*, that they might have no way to retreat; nor would the *Athole* men or any other that favoured the King venture any hazard with them, because they were strangers and came not by the Kings open and known Authority; nor had they any Commander of ancient Nobility, a thing by the Highlanders much set by, who would not fight under the command of *Alexander Mac donell*, a man of no account with them: lastly their number was inconsiderable, being not above eleven hundred, though ten thousand had been promised.

The next day, the *Athole* men to the number of eight hundred put themselves in armes, and offered their service most cheerfully to *Montrose*; who having got this handfull of men, and earnestly commending his most righteous Cause to the protection of Almighty God, now desired nothing more then to be among the thickest of the enemy. Impatient therefore of further delay, that very day he marches through the Plains of *Athole* towards *Ern*; as well to make way for his friends and assistants easier accessse unto him (if any should rise upon the newes) as that he might fall upon and amaze the Rebels unlook't for, before they should be able to joyne together who lay at distance. Therefore passing by *Weme*, a cattle of the *Menisfar*, seeing they handled a Trumpeter whom he sent friendly unto them unworthily, and fell hotly upon the reare of his Army, he wastes their fields, and causes all their houses and corne to be fired; this was at the very first onser of the Warre, to strike terrour into the enemy. The same night he passed over *Tay*, the greatest river in *Scotland*, with part of his Forces; the rest follow him very early the next day. When they were ready to march on, he gave *Patrick Graham* (of whom I shall



shall have often to speak, and never without honour) at their earnest request the Command of the *Athole* men, and sent him with the nimblest of them he could pick out amongst them to scout before. He brings word he saw some souldiers drawne up on the top of an hill at *Buckinith*: towards them *Montrose* makes straight. These proved to be commanded by the Lord *Kilpont* son to the Earle of *Taith*, a man of ancient Nobility, and descended of the *Grahams*; and Sir *John Drummond*, sonne to the Earl of *Perth*, a kinsman also of *Montrose*; who were both of them summoned by the Covenanters to joyne against the Irish as the Common enemy, and had with them five hundred Foot and no more; nor had they heard any certainty at all of *Montrose's* being in those parts. He resolveth with all speed to surprise them, and either to winne them to his side or to crush them to pieces. But they as soone as they heard that *Montrose* was Generall of those Forces, send unto him some of their chiefeest friends to understand from him what he intended to doe. He tells them he had the Kings Authority for what he did, and was resolved to assest that Authority to the utmost of his power against a most horrid Rebellion, conjuring them by all the obligations that were betwene them, that they would not thinke much to doe their best endeavours for the best of Kings. Which as it was much becoming their high birth, and would be very acceptable service to the King, so it would be beneficiall unto them for the present, and much to their honour with posterity and strangers, if they of all others should be the first that put to their helping hands to hold up a tottering Crowne. They most readily without any delay came in unto him, for both of them though underhand favoured the King exceedingly.

From them *Montrose* understood that the Covenanters were thick in armes at a Rendezvouz at *Perth* (the second City to *Edinburgh*) and there waited for their enemies falling down from *Athole*. He knowing also that *Argile* with his Army was upon his backe, lest he should be hem'd in on both sides, determines to goe forward to *Perth*, that there he might either force the enemy to fight, or reduce the Towne to the Kings obedience. Marching therefore three miles from *Buckinith*, and allowing the Souldiers but a short time of refreshment, at the breake of day he drawes out his men. Nor was he above three miles more from the City, when the enemy was in view in a large and open Plain (called *Tippermore*) providing to fight. They were commanded by the Lord *Elchoe*, one that was taken for no great souldier: there were with him the Earle of *Tullibardine*, and the Lord

Lord Drummond, but this latter (as was conceived) against his will, for he and his fathers whole family favoured the King in their hearts; Knights he had with him good store, among whom Sir James Scot (who heretofore had done good service under the State of Venice) was the most noted souldier. They had six thousand Foot and seven hundred Horse, and in confidence of their numbers, they had even devoured their enemies before they saw them. It was on Sunday the first of September, and it was given in charge to their Ministers, that in their Speeches they should encourage the people to fight, not forgetting to minde them of their most holy Covenant forsooth. And to give them their due they plyed their lungs stoutly in the performance of that worke; they most freely promised them in the name of Almighty God an easie and unbloudy victory; nay, there was one Frederick Carmichael, one very much cryed up for learning and holinesse by the silly people, who was not afraid to deliver this passage in his Sermon, *If ever God spake word of truth out of my mouth, I promise you in his name assured victory this day.*

Gods service being thus finely performed as they thought, they put their men in Battalia. Elchoe himself commanded the right flank, Sir James Scot the left, and the Earle of Tullibardin the battell. To the right and left flanks were added wings of horse, with which they made no doubt on so faire a Plaine to hemme in the enemy. Montrose perceiving the great body of the enemy, and especially their strength in Horse, (for he had not so much as one Horse-man, nor more then three leane horses) and being carefull (as it concerned him) lest being incompassed with so great a number, they should fall upon him in the Front, Reare, and Flanke, he caused his Army to be drawne out to as open order as could be possible, and makes his Files onely three deep. He commands the Ranks all to discharge at once, those in the first Ranke kneeling, in the second stooping, and in the hindmost, where he placed the tallest men, upright; he chargeth them also to have a care of mis-spending their powder, of which they had so small store, and that they should not so much as make a shot till they came to the very teeth of their enemies; and as soone as they had discharged their muskets once a piece, immediately to breake in upon the enemy with their swords and musket ends; which if they did, he was very confident the enemy would never endure the charge. Montrose undertakes the Command of the right Flanke over against Sir James Scot, appoints the left to the Lord Kilpont, and the maine Battell to Mac donell with his Irish: which was very providently



vidently ordered, left the Irish who were neither used to fight with long Pikes, nor were furnished with swords, if they had been placed on either flank should have been exposed to the fury of the Scotch Horse.

*Montrose* had sent unto the Commanders of the enemy, *Drummond* sonne and heire to the Lord *Maderly*, a noble Gentleman, and accomplished with all kinde of vertues, who declared in his name, That *Montrose*, as well as the Kings Majesty from whom he had received his Commission, was most tender of shedding his Countreys blood, and had nothing more in his devotions, then that his victories might be written without a red Letter. And such a victory they might obtaine as well as he, if they should please but to have the honour to conquer themselves, and before a stroke were struck to returne unto their Allegiance. That for his part he was covetous of no mans wealth, ambitious of no mans honour, envious at no mans preferment, thirsty after no mans blood; all that he desired was, that in the name of God they would at length give care to sound counsell, and submit themselves and what belonged unto them unto the grace and protection of so good a King: who as he had hitherto condescended unto all things (either for matter of Religion or any thing else) which they thought good to aske, though to the exceeding great prejudice of his Prerogative; so still they might finde him like an indulgent Father ready to embrace his penitent children in his armes, although he had been provoked with unspeakable injuries. But if they should continue still obstinate in their Rebellion, he called God to witnesse, that it was their own stubbornesse that forced him to the present encounter. The Commanders of the enemies answered nothing at all to all this, but against the Law of Nations sent the Messenger (who out of meere love to his Countrey had undertaken the employment) prisoner with a company of rude souldiers unto *Perth*, vowing assoone as they had got the victory to cut off his head. But God was more mercifull to him, and provided otherwise then they intended, for the safety of that gallant man.

They were come within musket shot when the enemies under the Command of the Lord *Drummond* sent out a forlorne-hope to provoke *Montrose* to a light skirmish: he sends a few to meet them, who at the first onset disorder and rout them, sending them backe to their maine body in no small fright. *Montrose* thought now was his opportunity, and that nothing could conduce more either to the encouragement of his owne souldiers, or the terrour of the ene-

my, then immediately to fall upon them as they were disordered and astonished with that fresh blow, nor would he give them time to rally or recover courage: therefore setting up a great shout, he lets loose his whole Army upon them. The enemy first at distance discharge their Ordnance, which made more noise then they did harme, afterwards marching forward, their Horse labour to breake in upon *Montrose's* Souldiers; those, when their powder was spent, and many of them had neither Pikes nor scarce Swords, they stoutly entertaine with such weapons as the place would afford, good stones; of which they poured in such number amongst them with so great strength and courage, that they forced them to retreat and to trouble them no more. For the Irish and Highlanders striving bravely whether should out vie the other in valour, bore up so eagerly when they gave ground, that at last they betooke themselves to the nimbleness of their Horses heeles. There was something more to do a little while longer in the right Flanke. Sir *James Scot* disputed some time for the higher ground, but *Montrose's* men being stronger bodied, and especially swifter footmen obtained the Hill; from thence the *scot*-men rushed downe with their drawne swords upon the enemy, and making little account of the musquetiers, who sent their bullets amongst them as thicke as haile, closing with them (as they lik't best to fight) they slasht and beat them downe. At last the enemy not able to abide their fury, fairely ran away. Most of the Horse made so good speed as to save themselves; but there was a great slaughter of the Foot, whom they pursued for six or seven miles. There were conceived to be two thousand of the Covenanters slain, and more were taken prisoners; of whom some taking a Military Oath, took up arms again with the Conquerour; but perfidiously, for almost all forsooke him afterwards. The rest taking a solemn Protestation that they would never after beare armes against the King; he set at liberty. He tooke in *Perth* the same day, without doing the least harme unto the City, although most of the Citizens had fought against him in this battell; thinking by so great clemency to turne the hearts of the people towards their King, which was the only end to which he directed all his designs.

#### C H A P. VI.

**H**E staid three dayes at *Perth*, for there he expected many in those parts to come in with their friends and clients armed, who  
upon

upon the noise of the late victory professed themselves most faithfull to the King; but none came but the Earle of *Kinoul* with a few gentlemen of *Gawry*, nor did they continue very constant unto him neither. And by this time *Argyle* was at hand with a great Army of Foot of his owne, and supplies of Horse were joyned with him out of the South parts; therefore *Montrose* passing over the *Tay* tooke up his Quarters in the field (for other quarters he seldom had) near *Conper* a little village in *Angus*, where a famous Monastery once stood, but now lies on the ground. Here a brave young gentleman, Sir *Thomas Ogilby* sonne to the Earle of *Arley*, with others of the Gentry of *Angus*, met him, and readily offered him their service; whom he courteously entertained, and sent them away with thanks, they pretending they onely went to fit themselves for a march, neverthelesse few of them returned besides the *Ogilbies*.

Next morning by breake of day before the *Revellier* was beat there was a great tumult in the Camp, the Souldiers ranne to their armes, and fell to be wilde and raging; *Montrose* guesing that it was some falling out between the Highlanders and the Irish, thrust himselfe in amongst the thickest of them: there he findes a most horrible murder newly committed, for the noble Lord *Kilpontin* lay there basely slaine. The murderer was a retainer of his owne, one *Stuart*, whom he had treated with much friendship and familiarity, in so much that that same night they lay both in a bed. It is reported that the base slave had a plot to dispatch *Montrose*, and in regard of the great power he had with *Kilpontin*, he conceived he might draw him in to be accessory to the villany, therefore taking him aside into a private place, he had discovered unto him his intentions; which the Nobleman highly detested, as was meet; whereupon the murderer fearing he would discover him, assaulted him unawares, and stabbed him with many wounds, who little suspected any harme from his friend and creature. The treacherous assaffine by killing a Centinell escaped, none being able to pursue him, it being so darke that they could scarce see the ends of their Pikes. Some say the traitor was hired by the Covenanters to doethis, others onely that he was promised a reward if he did it. Howsoever it was, this is most certaine that he is very high in their favour unto this very day, and that *Argyle* immediately advanced him (though he was no souldier) to great commands in his Army. *Montrose* was very much troubled with the losse of this Nobleman, his deare friend, and one that had deserved very well both from the King and himself, a man famous for arts

and armes, and honestly; being a good Philosopher, a good Divine, a good Lawyer, a good Souldier, a good Subject, and a good man: And embracing the breathlesse body againe and againe with sighes and teares, he delivers it to his sorrowfull friends and servants to be carried to his parents to receive its funerall Obsequies as became the splendor of that honourable Family.

With the rest of his Forces *Montrose* marcheth to *Dundee*: the Towne being proud of the number of its inhabitants, and having a Garrison out of *Fife* beside, refused to submit. And he, thinking it no wisdom to hazard the honour he had gotten by his late victory upon the doubtfull successe of a siege, turnes away toward *Eske*; for he hoped that many of his friends and kindred, being men of greatest note in those parts, and who used to talke as highly what they would doe for the King as any others, would be ready to joyne with him. But they having newes of his approach withdrew themselves: onely the Lord *Ogleby* Earl of *Airley*, a man of threescore yeares old, (with his two sons, Sir *Thomas*, and Sir *David*, and some of his friends and clients, men of experienced resolutions) joyned himselfe unto him: and with admirable constancy he went along with him through all fortunes unto the very end of the Warre; being in that almost universall defection, the other honour and ornament of the Nobility of Scotland besides *Montrose*.

While *Montrose* was hereabouts, he receives intelligence that some Commissioners from the Covenanters (of whom the Lord *Burghly* was the principall) lay at *Aberdene* with an Army, and laboured to assure unto themselves the Northerne parts, upon which *Montrose* especially relied, either by faire meanes or soule. He determines to fight these immediately before *Argyle* could come up to them, therefore with long marches he hies thirher; and possessing himselfe of the bridge upon the river of *Dee*, and drawing neare the City, he found the enemy drawn up close beside it. *Burghley* commanded two thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse whom he placed in wings; and having chosen his ground, and planted his great Guns before his men, he expected battell. *Montrose* had fiftene hundred Foot (for the Lord *Kilpontius* souldiers were gone to convey their Lords dead body to his parents, and most of the *Athole*-men after the victory of *Perth* were gone home, from whence they were not farre, laden with spoile,) and just foure and forty Horse, of whom he made two divisions, and mixing amongst them the best fire-men and Archers that he had (who in nimblenesse and swiftnesse of body were

were almost as good as horsemen) placed them on either wing . to prevent the falling of the enemies Horse upon his reare ; which they performed most gallantly beyond the opinion or perhaps the beliefe of many. He gave the command of the right flank to *James Hay* and *Nathaniel Gordon*, and of the left to *Sir William Rollock* , all valiant men. The left wing of the enemy was commanded by *Lewis Gordon*, sonne to the Marquesse of *Huntley* , a bold young man and hot spirited, but haire brain'd and one that had forced out his fathers friends and clients to fight with *Montrose* against their wills. He having gotten the plaine and most commodious ground for fighting on horse-backe charged *Montrose's* right flank : which when he perceived, he commanded *Rollock* with his twenty Horse to their aid ; and they, being backed with the gallantry of their Commanders, and the activity and stoutnesse of the Foot amongst them , received the charge with so much hardinesse, that they foure and forty beat backe full three hundred of the enemy, routing all and killing very many. But because they were so few they durst not follow the chase : which was forborne by the great prudence of the Commanders , and proved to be of great consequence towards the obtaining of the victory : for the enemy charged *Montrose's* left Flanke which had no Horse with their right Wing of Horse. *Montrose* therefore in a trice (now that *Lewis Gordon* and his men were fled) conveys the same Horse to the left Flanke ; who seeing they were not able to draw themselves into a Body like the enemies, fetch't a compasse about , and so escaped their first charge ; then neatly wheeling about they fall upon the Flanke of the enemy, and with their naked swords, beat, and cut, and vanquish , and put them to flight. They tooke prisoners one *Forbes* of *Kragevar*, a Knight of great esteem with the enemy, and another *Forbes* of *Boindle*. Those that retreated got safe away, because that so few could not safely pursue them. They that commanded the enemies Horse were not so much frightened with their losse as vexed with the disgrace of a double repulse, therefore imputing their defeat to those light firelockes that were mixed with *Montrose's* Horse, they themselves call for Foot-men out of their maine Body intending to returne with greater courage. *Montrose* suspected that, and was loath to engage those few gallant men againe , whose Horses were spent already in two sharp services, with the enemy who was reinforced with fresh Foot. Therefore observing the enemies Horse not yet rallied since their new rout, and standing at a sufficient distance from their Foot ; hee rode about among his owne

Foot, who had been fore galled already with the enemies Ordnance) and bespeaks them to this effect: *We doe no good (my fellow souldiers) while we dispute the matter at thus much distance, except we close up with them how shall we know an able man from a weak, a valiant man from a coward? If ye would assaile these timorous and brawnlesse shrimps with handy blowes, they will never be able to stand you. Goe to therefore, fall about them with your swords and butt-end of your muskets, beat them downe, drive them backe, and make them pay what is justly due for their treason and rebellion.* It was no sooner said, then they fall to worke, breake in upon the enemy, defeatethem, rout them. Their Horse who expected Foot to come and line them, seeing them all run away, ran faster then they: whom the Conquerours were not able to follow much lesse to overtake, so they scapt scot-free; but the Foot paid for all, few of which escaped the Victors hands. For having no other place to fly unto but into the City, *Montrose's* men came in thronging amongst them through the gates and posternes, and laid them on heaps all over the streets. They fought foure houres upon such equall termes, that it was an even lay whether had the oddes. At this Battell *Montrose* had some great Guns, but they were unserviceable, because all advantages of ground were possessed by the enemy; but the enemies Guns made no small havock of his men. Among others, there was an Irishman that had his legge shot off with a Cannon bullet, onely it hung by a little skin; he seeing his fellow-souldiers something sad at his mischance, with a loud and cheerfull voyce cryes out, *Come on, my Camerades, this is but the fortune of Warre, and neither you nor I have reason to be sorry for it. Doe you stand to it as becomes you, and as for me, I am sure my Lord Marquesse, seeing I can no longer serve on foot, will mount me on horsebacke:* So drawing out his knife, being nothing altered nor troubled, he cut asunder the skin with his owne hand, and gave his legge to one of his fellow-souldiers to bury. And truly when he was well againe, and made a Trooper, he often did very faithfull and gallant service. This battell was fought at *Aberdene* on the twelfth day of September, 1644. Then *Montrose* calling his souldiers back to their Colours entered the City, and allowed them two dayes rest.



## CHAP. VII.

IN the meane time newes is brought that *Argyle* was hard by with much greater forces then those they dealt with last, the Earle of *Lothian* accompanying him with fifteen hundred Horse. Therefore *Montrose* removes from *Aberdene* to *Kintore* a Village ten miles off, that he might make an easier access unto him for the *Gordons* (the friends and dependants of the Marquess of *Huntley*) and others that were supposed much to favour the Kings cause. From thence he sends Sir *William Rollocke* to *Oxford*, to acquaint his Majesty with the good successe he had hitherto obtained, and to desire supplies out of *England*, or some place else. That he had fought twice indeed very prosperously, but it could not be expected that seeing he was so beset on all sides with great and numerous Armies, he should be able to hold out alwayes without timely reliefe. Still nothing troubled *Montrose* more, then that none of the *Gordons*, of whom he conceived great hopes, came in unto him. And there wanted not some of them, who testified their great affection to the service, but that *Huntley* the chief of the Family, being a backe-friend to *Montrose*, had with-held them all, either by his owne example, or private directions; and that himselfe being forced to sculk in the utmost border of the Kingdom, envied that honour to another of which he had missed himselfe, and had forbidden, even with threats, all those with whom he had any power to have any thing to doe with *Montrose*, or to assist him either with their power or counsell. Which when he understood, he resolved to withdraw his Forces into the Mountains and Fastnesses, where he knew the enemies horse (wherein their great strength consisted) could doe them little service; and of their Foot (if they were never so many) relying upon the justice of his cause, and the valour of his souldiers, he made but little reckoning. Therefore he hid his Ordnance in a bogge, and quitted all his troublesome and heavy carriages. And coming to the side of the river of *Spey*, not farre from an old castle called *Rothmurke*, he incamped there: with an Army, if one respect the number but very small, but it was an expert and cheerfull one, and now also something acquainted with victory.

On the other side of the *Spey*, he findes the men of *Cathnes*, and *Sunderland*, and *Rosse*, and *Murray*, and others to the number of five thousand up in armes to hinder his passage over the swiftest River in all *Scotland*, till such time as *Argyle* who marched after him was upon

upon his backe. Being oppressed, and as it were besieged with so many enemies on every side, that at least he might save himselfe from their Horſe, he turned into *Badenoch*, a rocky and mountainous Countrey, and scarce passable for Horſe. There for certaine dayes he was very sicke, which occasioned so immoderate joy to the Covenanters, that they doubted not to give out he was quite dead, and to ordaine a day of publique Thanksgiving to Almighty God for that great deliverance. Nor were their Levites you may be sure backward in that employment in their Pulpits; for as if they had been of counsell at the Decree, and stood by at the execution, they assured the people that it was as true as Gospell, that the Lord of Hostes had slaine *Montrose* with his owne hands. But this joy did not last them long, for he recovered in a short space; and as if he had been risen from the dead, he frighted his enemies much more then he had done before. For as soon as his disease would give him leave, he returned into *Ashole*, and sent away *Mac-donell* with a party unto the Highlanders, to invite them to take up armes with him; and if they would not be invited to force them. He himselfe goes into *Angus*, hoping it might happen that he should either force *Argyle* with his tyred Horſe unto his Winter quarters, or at least leave him farre enough behinde him. For *Argyle* had pursued him so slowly, and at such distance, that it was apparent he thought of nothing lesse then of giving him battell. Therefore going through *Angus*, and getting over the *Grainsbaine* (which going along with a perpetuall ridge from East to West, divideth *Scotland* into two equall parts) he returned into the North of the Kingdome. And now that he had left *Argyle* so farre behinde him, that he might safely take some time to recruit, he went to *Strathbogy*, that he might meet with the *Gordons*, and perswade them to engage with him. But he lost his labour, for they were forestalled by *Huntley*, and after his example plaid least in fight. For such as were generous and daring spirits, though they were leath to provoke the indignation of their Chief, yet they could not but be ashamed, that at a time when there might be so much use of them they did nothing. Besides, the Lord *Gordon*, *Huntley's* eldest sonne (a man of singular worth and accomplishment) was detained by *Argyle* his uncle by the mothers side: the Earle of *Aboine* the second son was incloſed within the siege of *Carlisle*; and *Lewes* another son was of the enemies side; so that there was no one of *Huntley's* family under whose authority they should take up armes.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding *Montrose* quartered there a great while; in which time almost every other night marching seven, or eight, or ten miles with a party of light Foot. (for Horse he had few or none) he used to give alarmes to the enemy, beat up their quarters, put them to flight, and frequently to bring home horse and men prisoners. And because he alwayes brought his men safe off, it was strange to see how cheerfull and daring his souldiers were; so that though their number was not great, there was nothing that he would lead them on unto that seemed great to them. At last when he despaired of any good to be done with the *Gardons*, at the end of *October* he removed from *Strathbogy*, and came to *Fairy Castle* and possessed it. There he was like to have been utterly undone by the bad and false intelligence his Scouts in whom he put great confidence brought unto him concerning the enemy: for those whom they perswaded him were scarce got over *Grainsbane* were on a sudden encamped within two miles of him. *Argyle* and *Lochian* had there two thousand five hundred Foot, and twelve hundred Horse: *Montrose*, now when *Mac-donell* was absent with a party, had fifteen hundred Foot and about fifty Horse. If he should have descended into the Plain with so small strength it had been madnesse; and to keep a Castle (and no strong one neither) he thought dishonourable, and derogatory to the credit of his late victories. Therefore he bethought himself of another course, he drawes his men up unto a higher hill which over-look't the Castle. The soile of the hill was rough, and there were hedges also and ditches cast up there by the Husbandmen for the fences of their fields, which were almost as usefull as Breast-works. But before he had appointed every one his ground to draw up in, those few of *Huntley's* dependants which accompanied *Montrose* from *Strathbogy*, in the sight of all people fairly betooke them to their heels. And on the other side, the enemy driving fiercely up the hill, made themselves masters of no small part of it; which if they had been able to maintain with the same vigour that they had obtained it, *Montrose* had been a lost man: whose Souldiers, discouraged both by the timorous flight of some of their owne, and the multitude of their enemies forces, were well neare ready to turne their backs; them *Montrose* presently put life and courage into by his own example and presence, by putting them in minde of their former achievements, and their own sence of their wonted prowesse. Moreover he thus bespake a young Irish Gentleman, one Colonell *OKyan*, *Gothy way*, *OKyan* with such men as thou hast at hand, and drive me those fellows

out of yonder ditches that we may be no more troubled with them. The gallantry of *OKyan Montrose* had often seen and commended, nor did that truly valiant man deceive the Generals opinion of him; for he quickly firretted the enemy out of the ditches, though they much out-nubred his men, and were seconded with a party of Horse. And not onely so, but gained some bagges of powder which the enemy had left behinde them for haste, a very seasonable pray, of which they had great need. Nor doth a notable example of the forwardnesse of the Souldiers seem to me unworthy in this place to be remembred; for one of them looking upon the bagges of powder, *What (saith he) have they given us no bullets? Mary but we must fetch bullets too from those sparing distributors of Ammunition.* As if it had been altogether the enemies duty to provide them necessaries for the Warre.

In the mean time his Horse (which were but fifty) being disposed in a place of danger, he timely secured them by lining them with musketiers. For *Lorhain* charged them with five whole troops, who before they had crossed over half a field that lay between them, being scared with our shot wheel'd about, and returned to the place from whence they came. *Montrose's* men being encouraged with these two successes could hardly be kept off from falling on with a shout upon the whole body of the enemy: whom *Montrose* restraines rather with a kind of commendation of them (as was meet) then reproof, only bids every one know his own duty and wait his commands. Towards night, *Argyle* having done nothing to any purpose, retreats two miles off, and slept not that night. But the next day, when he was told that *Montrose's* souldiers had great scarcity of powder and bullet, drawing his men into the same ground againe, he made as though he would have charged up the Hill, and beaten *Montrose* out of his hold. But when his heart failed him in that enterprise, besides some skirmishes between small parties while the main bodies kept their ground, there was nothing done that day neither. All this while *Montrose* sends for all dishes, and flaggons, and chamber-pots, and what other pewter vessels could be had, and caused them to be melted into bullet; yet when that was done the souldiers had not enough. With which great inconvenience the souldiers were so little troubled, that one as often as he made a shot (which he presumed never missed) he would say merrily to his Camerades, *As sure as can be I have broken one Traytors face with a chamber-pot.* Nor will any one wonder if *Montrose's* men were oft in want of powder and other necessa-

necessaries for Warre, when he considers they had no other way to supply themselves with them, but out of their enemies stocke. And now the second day being almost spent, *Argyle* withdrawes his men over the river, the way that they came, three Scotch miles (which make one Dutch mile) off. The time was thus spent at *Faivy* for severall dayes, *Argyle* carrying nothing away with that great Army, but disgrace among his friends, and contempt among his enemies; for it was wholly imputed to his cowardise that there he had not made an absolute conquest.

At last *Montrose* (least by marching away in the day time he might have some of his Rear cut off by the enemies Horse) takes the advantage of the night to returne to *Strathbogy*: where he intended to make some stay, both because the cragginess of the Countrey was a good security to his souldiers against the incursions of the enemies Horse; and because it was near those places from whence he daily expected *Mac-donell* with what Highlanders he could raise. The next day the enemy pursues him with an intention to force him to fight with them in the open field: and truly as soon as they came in sight of them, drawing up their men they made ready to battell, as if they would have fallen on with all their power. But a forlorne hope of Highlanders was sent before by *Argyle* to engage *Montrose* in a light skirmish, who were manfully entertained and repulsed. Then *Montrose* having possessed himselfe of the highest ground, *Argyle* alters his resolution, and thinks upon that which was more safe and lesse honourable. He desires a Cessation, proposes that engagements may be given on both sides for a Conference and Treaty; yet at the same time, he did not onely tempt the souldiers to forsake *Montrose* by promising them indemnity and rewards to boot; but, (which is a shame to say even of an enemy) set a great price upon *Montrose's* head, to be paid unto any assassin or murderer that should bring it in. Of which, when *Montrose* was well assured, (who well knew the disposition of the man to be more bent to overreach and betray, then to fight with his enemy) he thought nothing concerned him more, then with all speed to bring off those small Forces he had as farre as he could, both from *Argyle's* Horse and knavery.

Therefore calling a counsell of Warre, he declares his opinion, they all approve his wisdom, and promise to continue their fidelity and their best endeavours to serve him. Therefore he resolveth upon a long march the next night, as farre as *Badenoib*; and that the



souldiers might be lighter for so great a journey, he sent the Carriages before with a guard, and bid the souldiers make themselves ready against the next day, as if they were to fight. And now the Carriages were on the way, when on a sudden newes came that *Forbes* of *Cregaver*, a prisoner, (to whom upon the engagement of his Honour for his true imprisonment *Montrose* had given the liberty of the Camp) and that *Sibbalds*, who besides *Rollock* was onely of his counsell and company when he came out of *England*, and some others, had made an escape and run away to the enemy. He was troubled at the perfidiousnesse of the men, and justly suspected that they, to ingratiate themselves with the enemy, would betray his counsells. Therefore he straight called backe the Convoy with the Carriages, and seemed as if he had wholly altered his resolutions. But indeed he altered them not, but thought it fit to delay them for a time, that the intelligence which the enemy received from his fugitives might appear unto them idle and uncertain. But after four dayes he sent the Carriages away again before him and making fires through all the Camp, he placed all the Horse he had within view of the enemy, as if they kept their guard there, till such time as the Foot were marched farre enough from danger, and then brought the Horse also safe off, and all by break of day came to *Balveny*. And now being safe from having their quarters beaten up by the enemies Horse, and they no further pursuing, it being also the very deep of winter, he allowed a few dayes unto the refreshment of his souldiers. And at this time especially *Argyle* began to appear in his own colours, and his subtilties were manifested. For most of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and prime Souldiers that were with *Montrose* (who setting aside Irish-men and Highlanders, had more Commanders then private souldiers in his Army) deserted him, and fell off to *Argyle*. Some of them pretended sicknesse, others disability to make such long marches in winter time, over mountains uninhabited, unpassable, full of nothing but stones and bryars, for the most part deep in snow, and never travelled over by any man alive. And therefore fore against their wills, as they said, and being compelled to depart by an extream necessity, they desired his Pässe: which he denyed to none that ask't; but yet look't upon them rather with a kinde of indignation and scorn, then approbation or compassion. Nor can one easily say how much the example of such men weakened his Forces, and how much it hath earrened many that intended to have listed themselves under his Command. But the old Lord *Ogleby*, the Earl of *Airley*, a man of three-

score



score years old, and not very healthy neither, together with two of his sons most worthy of such a father, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *David*, could never be perswaded even in the extreamest hazard of their lives to depart from him.

## C H A P. VIII.

**M**ontrose returning from *Balveny* to *Badenoch* met a very faithful intelligencer, who gave him notice that *Argyle* with his Foot (for his Horse were gone to their winter quarters) lay at *Dunkeldon*, and that from thence he used all his industry to perswade the *Athole* men to revolt. He, although he was assured of their loyalty, nevertheless with incredible hast goes down into *Athole*: For in one night he marched with his Forces four and twenty miles, through wayes untrodden, untilled, full of snow, waste, and never inhabited by mortall man, to the intent he might fall upon *Argyle* whiles he had not his Horse about him. But he being frightened with the report of his coming, when *Montrose* was yet sixteen miles off, bid his men shift for themselves, and he himself fled as fast as he could into *Pertb*, wherein the Covenanters had a strong Garrison. *Mac-donell* was by this time returned, and brought along with him the Chief of the *Macrenalds* with his men to the number of five hundred: and *Montrose* himself added to that number *Patrick Graham* with some choice men of *Athole*. Being recruited with these, he marcheth to the lake out of which the river of *Tay* breaks forth, to passe from thence through *Bradalbaine* into the Country of *Argyle*; for he thought an enemy could never be so happily overthrown as in his own Countrey. And truly he had many strong reasons for that resolution. In the first place, *Argyle's* power and authority amongst the *Highlanders* rendered him formidable to his Peers and neighbours, and so conduced much both to raise and foment the whole Rebellion: For as soon as anyone adventured to oppose the Covenanters, or dispute their Commands, presently *Argyle* gathering a tumultuous army of five or six thousand *Highlanders* (who for all that served him against their wils) crush't him to pieces; and therefore he had all the reason in the world to bring down the power of so seditious, and covetous, and cruell a man. Moreover, those *Highlanders* who did not only favour the Kings cause, but hated *Argyle* heartily, as having had sufficient experience of his Tyranny, durst not appeare as they would till he was first subdued. And lastly, the *Low-lands* of the Kingdom were maintained by the Cove-

nauters with strong Garrisons, and great bodies of Horse: so that except he had a minde utterly to undoe his friends, he had no other place to winter his Souldiers in but that. And being pressed with these reasons, with long and soule journeys, and incredible speed he cometh into Argyle.

The Earlat that time was lifting souldiers in his Country, and had appointed the day and place for a Rendezvouz. He lived securely in the Castle of *Innerare*, supposing no enemy to be within a hundred miles of him. For he could never before be brought to beleieve that an Army could get into *Argyle* on foot in the midst of summer, and many times heretofore he has been heard to bragge, that he had rather lose a hundred thousand Crownes, then any mortall man should know the way by which an Army could enter into his Countrey: When he therefore suspected nothing lesse. the trembling Cow-herds came downe from the hills, and told him the enemy was within two miles. He not knowing what to do, and almost besides himself for fear, at last commits himself to a fisher-boat, and flies away; leaving his friends, and servants, and the whole Countrey to their fortunes, and the mercy of an enemy. It is a rough and mountainous Countrey, barren of corn, for little or none is sown there, but very commodious for pasture, the chief riches of the inhabitants consisting in cattell. *Montrose* divides his Army into three Brigades, and sends them about the Countrey; one Brigade was commanded by the Chief of the *Mac-reynolds*, another by *Mac-donel*, and the third by himself. They range about all the Countrey, and lay it waste; as many as they finde in armes going to the Rendezvouz appointed by their Lord they slay, and spare no man that was fit for warre: nor do they give over till they had driven all serviceable men out of that Territory, or at least into holes knowne to none but themselves. Then they fire the villages and Cortes, and lay them leuell with the ground: in that retaliating *Argyle* with the same measure he had meted unto others, who was the first in all the Kingdome that persecuted his Country-men with fire and sword: Lastly, they drive their cattell. Nor did they deal more gently with others, who lived in *Lorn*, and the neighbour parts, that acknowledged *Argyle's* power: These things lasted from the 13. of *December* 1644. to the 28. or 29. of *January* following.

And indeed, he uled never more to acknowledge the singular providence and fatherly mercy of Almighty God, then in bringing him and his men safe out of those places; for if but two hundred souldiers  
had

had handſomely kept thoſe Paſſes, they might eaſily either have cut off, or at leaſt driven back all his Forces. Beſides, if the Cow-herds had but driven away their cattell which they might eaſily have done) in thoſe barren places he muſt have ſtarved for hunger. Or thirdly, if it had been a ſharp and ſtormy winter, (and it ſeldome chances to be otherwiſe there) they had either been drowned in ſnow-drifts, or ſtarv'd and benumb'd with cold. But mercifull God took away both courage from the enemy, and its ordinary temper from the air; and ſupplied their want of bread with great abundance of fleſh. At length departing out of *Argyle*, and paſſing through *Lorn*, *Glen-cow*, and *Aber*, he came to *Logh-Neſſe*. And now he expected that all the Highlanders being either frighted with the example of *Argyle*, or freed from the fear of him, ſhould be ready to aſſiſt the Kings moſt righteous Cauſe, and vindicate it with their armes againſt the Rebels.

But now leaſt *Montroſe's* heroicall ſpirit ſhould ever want matter to work upon, he is advertiſed that the Earl of *Seaforth*, a very powerfull man in thoſe parts (and one of whom he had entertained a better opinion) with the Garriſon of *Inverneſſe* which were old ſouldiers, and the whole ſtrength of *Murray*, *Roffe*, *Sutherland*, *Cathnes*, and the ſept of the *Fraſers*, were ready to meet him with a deſperate army of five thouſand Horſe and Foot. *Montroſe* had only fifteen hundred, for thoſe of *Clanrenald*, and moſt of the *Arbucklemen* ſuſpecting no ſuch need of them, and being laden with the ſpoils of *Argyle*, had got leave to go home, on condition they ſhould return when they were ſent for. But for all that, *Montroſe* was not afraid to give battell to that diſorderly Army: for although he knew thoſe of the Garriſon to be old ſouldiers, yet he accounted of the reſt of the multitude (which were newly raiſed out of Husbandmen, Cow-herds, Pedees, Tavern-boys, and Kitchin-boys) to be altogether raw and unſerviceable.

And now while he thought of nothing but fighting theſe, a truſty Meſſenger overtakes him, and informs him, that *Argyle* having gathered forces out of the lower parts of the Kingdom, and joyned unto them ſuch Highlanders as yet adhered unto him, had come down into *Aber* with three thouſand Foot, and ſtaid at an old Caſtle called *Inverlogh* upon the bank of *Logh-Aber*. *Montroſe* who well underſtood the crafty and cowardly diſpoſition of *Argyle*, by that had a good gueſſe at his deſigne; which was to follow after him at a good diſtance, that he might be firſt engaged with thoſe Northern men,  
and

and then to make his own advantage of the event of that battell; but by no means to fight himself if he could help it. Therefore *Montrose* considered that it would be a matter of greater concernment and of lesse danger, to let men see that *Argyle* was not invincible even in the Highlands, where he was adored by the simple people like some great little god: and as for the Northern Army, he conceived that upon the report of a Victory obtained against *Argyle*, it would moulder away and easily be brought into order. *Montrose* was thirty miles absent from *Innerloch*, neither would he goe the high way thither (though he placed guards in it lest the enemy should have any intelligence of his moving) but streight over *Lagh-Aber* hills, in untroden pathes, and onely known to Cow-herds and Hunts-men, (for in those mountains there are great herds of Deer) by a way that never man led an Army before; and killing their Scouts, was upon the back of the enemy ere he was aware. They being but little affrighted with so unexpected an accident run to their arms, and immediately prepare themselves for battell. When *Montrose* perceived them to be in a posture so quickly, he stood still a little while till his Rear being tired with so hard a march could come up unto his Front. It was night, but the Moon shone so clearly that it was almost as light as day: all night they stood to their arms, and making frequent sallies and skirmishes one with another, neither gave the other leave to rest or retreat. All others earnestly expected day, only *Argyle* being more advised then the rest conveyed himself away at dead of the night; and this second time taking boat saved himself from the perill of battell, as if he intended to be Umpire between the two Armies, and being himself out of gun-shot stand spectator of other mens valour, and well too. At the break of day, *Montrose* ordered his men as he intended to fight, and the enemy were as forward to do the like. For they did not yet think that *Montrose* was there (as some prisoners afterwards confessed) but some Colonell or Captain of his with a party only of his forces.

When the Sun was up on the second of *February* (which is *Candlemas* day) a trumpet sounding struck no small terrour into the enemy. For besides that a trumpet shewed they had Horse with them, and therefore was a sound with which those parts were little acquainted, it discovered also that *Montrose* himself was there. Nevertheless the prime of the *Campbells* (that's the surname of *Argyle's* family) being gallant men and stout, and deserving to fight under a better Chieftain in a better cause, cheerfully begin the battell. But their souls

diers that were in the Front having only once discharged their muskets, and *Montrose's* men pressing on fiercely to come to the dint of sword began to run. Whom they, raising a great shout, so eagerly pursued, that as it were at one assault they routed them all; and had the killing of them with a most horrible slaughter for nine miles together. Of the enemy were slain fifteen hundred, among whom were very many Gentlemen of the *Campbells*, who where chief men of the family, and of good account in their Country, who fighting but too valiantly for their Chiefrain, had deaths answerable to their names, and fell in *Campo Belli*, in the Field of War, [ *I cannot say the bed of Honour.* ] Their fortune *Montrose* extremely lamented, and saved as many of them as he was able, taking them into his protection; whiles *Argyle* himself being gotten into a boat and rowed a little way off the shore, securely look't on whiles his kindred and souldiers were knockt in the head. Some Colonels and Captains that *Argyle* had brought thither out of the Low-lands fled into the Castle; whom when the Castle was surrendred, and quarter was given unto them, *Montrose* used courteously; and after he had done them severall good offices of humanity and charity, freely let them depart. In this fight *Montrose* had many wounded, but none slain saving three private souldiers: but the joy of this great victory was much abated by the wounds of that truly honourable Sir *Thomas Ogleby*, sonne to the Earle of *Airley*, of which after a few dayes he dyed. Hewas one of *Montrose's* dearest friends; one who had done very good service for the King in *England* under the Command of his Father-in-law the Lord *Ruthven* Earle of *Forth* and *Branceford*, (a man known all the world over for his noble achievements.) Nor was he lesse a scholler then a souldier, being a new ornament to the family of the *Oglebys*, whose honourable death - wounds for his King and Country had no small influence upon that dayes victory. *Montrose* being very much afflicted with the losse of him, causeth his body to be carried into a thole, where he was interred with as sumptuous a funerall as that place and those times could afford. But the power of the *Campbells* in the *Highlands*, which for these many ages past hath been formidable to their neighbours, was by this overthrow clearly broken to pieces; and by it also a way opened unto *Montrose* to do his businessse the more easily thenceforward. For the Highlanders being warlike men, and let loose from the hated tyranny of *Argyle*, now began to offer themselves willingly unto the Kings service.

## C H A P. I X.

**T**He souldier who was almost spent with this sore travell, having refreshed himself for a few dayes, *Montrose* measuring over againe *Logh-Aber* hills returneth to *Logh-Nesse*. And from thence viewing by the way the coasts of *Harrick*, *Arne*, and *Narne*, came to the river of *Spey*. Here he is told, that there was no small party of the enemy at *Elgin*, (which is the chief town of *Murray*, a Country beyond the *Spey*.) *Montrose* hies towards these, either to draw them to his side or to suppress them: but the very report of his advancing blew away that cloud, for they in great amazement shifted for themselves every one whither he could. *Montrose* nevertheless goes on his march, and takes in *Elgin* by surrender on the 14. day of *February*. At which time the Lord *Gordon*, eldest son to the Marquess of *Huntley*, (a man who can never be sufficiently commended for his excellent endowments) came off openly to the Kings side (from his uncle by whom he had been detained against his will) and, with not many but very choise friends and clients, voluntarily did his duty, and offered his service to *Montrose* as the Kings Deputy and Vicegerent. *Montrose* first welcomed him with all civility, and gave him many thanks; afterwards when he came to understand him more inwardly, joynd him unto himself in the entirest bonds of friendship and affection. Now because the inhabitants of *Murray* were extremely addicted to the Covenanters, they hid themselves in their lurking places, nor were any supplies to be expected from men so maliciously disposed; Therefore he drew his Forces to this side the *Spey*, to raise the Countries of *Bamph* and *Aberdene* by the presence, example, and authority of the Lord *Gordon*. So having got together what forces he could in those places, with two thousand Foot and two hundred Horse, passing the river of *Dee* he came into *Marne*, and encamped not farre from *Fettercarne*.

At *Brachin* some seven miles from thence, Sir *John Hurray*, a stout man and an active, and famous also in forraigne parts for Military exploits, being Generall of the Horse for the Covenanters, had the Command over the whole Forces there. Hee came out with six hundred Horse to discover the strength of *Montrose*: he conceived *Montrose* had but very few Foot and no Horse, and if he should but descend into the plain, he made account to make short work with him; and



and howsoever it should happen, he made no question but to secure himself. *Montrose* to draw him on, hid the rest of his men in a bottome, and made shew only of his two hundred horse, but lined them (as he used) with his nimblest Musquetiers. Which Horse when *Hurree* saw, and observed they were so few, he drew up his men and charged. But when he perceived (too late) the Foot that ran close after *Montrose's* Horse, he sounded a retreat, and *Hurree* himself turning his men before him behaved himself stoutly in the rear. When they turned their backs *Montrose's* souldiers drive on, let fly, and lay about them, untill being got over the river of *Eske*, the enemy scarce safe under the protection of Night, betook themselves to shelter: nor did they think themselves secure till after a race of four and twenty miles long they came to *Dundee*. Then they that had pursued them so far returned to *Fethercarne*, and thence the next day to *Breechin*. Here *Montrose* understood, that *Baily* a Commander of great account had been fetched out of *England*, to be General of the enemies Forces; that *Hurree* with his Horse was joynd unto him, and that they had in their Army many old souldiers brought back out of *England* and *Ireland*; so that now the Covenanters going about their business in so great sadness, *Montrose* must expect not only other kind of souldiers, but also most expert Commanders to deal with.

Therefore, lest he should chance to be hemb'd in with their Horse (in which their chief strength lay) he chuseth his most convenient way by the foot of *Grainsbaine* towards the river of *Tay*; intending also if it were possible to get over the *Forth*, where he believed the King could not want assistance. Which designe of his was not unknown to the enemy: therefore they send these Commanders against him with a powerfull Army; who no sooner came in sight then *Montrose* offered them battell. But they intended nothing lesse then to try it out with him that way, nor would adventure so much as but to fall upon the rear of *Montrose* as he marched off. So he went to the Castle of *Innecarity*, and the next day to a village called *Elstot*. And here again leaving the mountains behinde him he descends into the plain, and by a Trumpet sends a challenge unto *Baily* to fight. Between their two Armies ran the river *Ile*, which neither could safely passe over without the others consent. *Montrose* therefore desires *Baily* to give him leave safely to come over to that side; which motion if *Baily* should not like of, he offered him a safe and free passage, on condition, that he would engage his honour to fight without sur-

ther delay. *Baile* answered, he would look to his own businesse himself, and would not have other men teach him when to fight. Thus the two Armies fac't one another many dayes, neither the enemy endeavouring to passe their Forces over the river against *Montrose*, nor he hoping to make good his passe unto them by reason of his scarcity of Horse. Marching therefore to *Dunkeldon*, he thought to passe the *Tay*, at which time by a sudden and unexpected mischief he was almost utterly ruined. It was thus, *Lewis Gordon* sonne to *Marquesse Huntly* who had borne arms against *Montrose* in the battell of *Aberdene*, by the mediation of his noble brother the Lord *Gordon* had bin received into favour. He either by true or counterfeit letters from the old fox in the hole, his father, tempted and carried away with him almost all the *Gordons* without the knowledge of his brother; and basely deserted *Montrose* and him when they were ready to be engaged with the enemy. And truly it is hard to say to whether of both he bore lesse good will.

*Montrose* being sore afflicted with this unexpected revolt, although he was of necessity to return into the North to gather new Forces, yet made as if nevertheless he went straight towards the *Forth*; and his scouts came all with full cry, that all the enemy were got over the *Tay*, that by taking the fords of the *Forth* they might hinder his passage. He, lest he should seem all this while to have done nothing thought it well worth his labour, if by the way he could take in *Dundee*, a most seditious town; for that being the securest haunt and receptacle of the Rebels in those parts, and a place that had contributed as much as any other towards the Rebellion, was kept by no other garrison but of the Townsmen. He therefore commanded the weakest and worst armed men to go along by the bottom of the hills and to meet him at *Brechin*; and he taking with him what Horse he had (which were but one hundred and fifty in all) and six hundred nimble musquetiers, departing from *Dunkeldon* about twelve of the clock in the night, made so great haste that he came to *Dundee* by ten of the clock in the morning on the 4. day of *April*. He summons the Townsmen to deliver the Town to the King, which was the only way to preserve their own lives and its safety; if they would not they must expect fire and sword. They began to make delays, and first to give no answer at all, afterward to commit the Trumpet to prison. Which affront provoked *Montrose* so highly, that he stormed the Town in three places at once: the Townsmen stood out a while and maintained their works, but they had as good have

have done nothing, for the Irish and Highlanders would take no repulse, but with a resolute assault some beat them out of their sconces, and possessing themselves of their ordnance turned it against the Town; others beat open the gates, and possessed themselves of the Church and Market-place; and others set the Town on fire in severall places. And indeed had not the common souldiers by an unseasonable avarice and intemperance addicted themselves to pillage that rich Town had been immediately all on fire. But as it happened it was better both for the conquerours and the conquered that it was not, for all the intelligence that the Scouts had brought in concerning the enemies coming over the *Tay* was absolutely false: it may be they saw a few Troops (and many they did not see) passe over it, which they beleaved to have been the whole body of the enemy, and by that means were like to have undone both themselves and the whole party.

*Montrose* stood upon the top of a hill close unto *Dundee* looking upon this onslaught, when his almost breathlesse Scouts brought him newes that *Baily* and *Hurrey* with three thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse were scarce a mile off. He immediately calls his men out of the Town, which he had much to do to perswade them; for the souldiers counting themselves secure of the victory, and thinking they had done a good dayes work already, and besides being a little heated in drink, and much taken with so rich a booty, could hardly be brought to leave the Town they had so newly taken. And truly before they could be beaten off from the spoile, the enemy was come within musket-shot of them. And now (as it uses to happen in great dangers) *Montrose's* counsell of War were of different opinions; some perswaded that *Montrose* should shift for himself with the Horse he had, because they conceived it not possible that he should be able to bring off the Foot, who had been wearied with a march of above twenty miles in the morning, after that were spent in a hot fight at noon, and now were over-loaden either with drink or prey; especially seeing he was to march twenty or perhaps thirty miles from *Dundee* before they could rest in safety. That this was the fortune of War, and to be patiently undergone, especially since he had given oftentimes far greater overthrowes to the enemy then this could be to him. That there was no doubt, but that as long as he was safe, his Forces might be easily recruited; and on the other side if he miscaried, the case was desperate and they were utterly undone. Others cryed out, that all was lost already, and there was nothing

left them but to die with honour; and therefore if charging courageously they should break in amongst the thickest of the enemy, no one could say but that they fell gallantly. *Montrose* concurred with neither of these; for he could never be brought to forsake so good men as he had in the extreamest danger, and preferred an honourable death among his souldiers before dishonourable safety. Put for all that, for men that were so much out-nubred by them to run desperately upon the enemy, and as it were to dash out their own brains against the stones, was the very last refuge, and not hastily to be made use of; therefore as we ought not to tempt Almighty God by our own wretchednesse and negligence, so neither ought any valiant man or good Christian despair of his assistance in a just cause. Lastly, he exhorts every one to do his own part and referre the successe to God, and other things to his own care and industry.

Immediately he sends out four hundred Foot before him, and commands them, that as much as they possibly could without breaking their ranks they should make all speed. Then he appoints two hundred of the activest men he had to follow them; and he with his Horse brings up the Rear. The Horse trooped on in so open order, that if occasion were they might have room enough to receive light musquetiers. He believed the enemies Foot were not able to overtake them; and if their Horse only should charge them (which they would hardly adventure to do) he conceived it was no matter of extreame difficulty to make their part good against them: besides the Sun was ready to set, and the darknesse of the night would be commodious for their retreat. The enemy understanding the number of them that went away first by some prisoners they had taken, and after that by their own view, as soon as they saw they were disposed rather for a journey then a battell, divide their Forces into two parts, and so pursue them. Wherein their intention was not only to fall upon their Rear and Flank at once, but also to secure against them all passages up to the Highlands: And their Commanders the more to encourage their Souldiers to a hot pursuit, proposed twenty thousand Crowns to any one that could bring in *Montrose's* head. And now the Van of the enemies Horse began to close up unto the retreaters, whereupon those good musquetiers that lined *Montrose's* Horse welcomed one, and another, and another of the forwardest of them with bullets in their sides; with whose mischance the rest becoming more wary, abated of the eagernesse of their pursuit. And *Montrose's* souldiers when they saw they had been too hard for the enemies

enemies Foot at a march, and had got before them, taking heart and courage they skirmished stoutly with their Horse, untill the night parted the quarrell. And to rid themselves some way of the enemy, took their way East-ward many miles by the sea-coast. However that was not their way, but to go North ward toward *Gransbaine*, and so to deliver themselves from their mischievous Horie. But *Railly* had laid the greatest part of his Army between them and *Gransbaine* that there might be no place for them to retreat unto.

Therefore at the dead of the night when they were not far from *Aberbroth*, *Montrose* commands his men to make a stand a while. And long they stood not, before he considering with himself that all wayes and passages straight into the Mountains might be laid by the enemies Horse (and he was not mistaken,) commands them to face about, and march South-west. And by this art (though with intolerable pains) he beguiled the Pursuers, whom that same night he passed by; and then turning North-ward, by the next morning at Sun-rising passed over *South-Eske* at a place not far from *Careston* Castle: and from thence sent to *Brechin* to fetch those men which he had there with the Carriages. But that had not needed, for they upon the report of this expedition had provided for themselves better and more timely, and had taken the Mountains. Whiles he staid at *Careston*, the Scouts brought him word on a sudden that the enemies Horse were in sight, and their Foot being refresh't with victuals and sleep march't after them apace. *Montrose* himself being now within three miles of the Mountains was not much afraid of them, but his souldiers who had not slept for three dayes and two nights, but had all that while been either on their march, or in fight, were overcome with so dead sleep that they could hardly be raised without pricks and wounds. The enemy being at last entertained with a light skirmish suffered *Montrose* to possesse himself of the bottom of the Mountains, and having done nothing to the purpose retreated from their vain pursuit. So he and his men came to *Glaneske*.

And this was that so much talk'd of Expedition of *Dundee*, infamous indeed for the mistake of the Scouts, but as renowned as any for the valour, constancy, and undaunted resolution of the Generall: and even admirable for the hardinesse of the Souldier, in encountering all extremities with patience, for for threescore miles together they had been often in fight, alwayes upon their march, without either meat, or sleep, or the least refreshment. Which whether forraigne Nations or after times will beleeve I cannot tell, but I am sure



I deliver nothing but what is most certain of mine own knowledge. And truly amongst expert Souldiers, and those of eminent note both in *England*, *Germany*, and *France*, I have not seldom heard this Expedition of his preferred before *Montrose's* greatest victories.

# CHAP. X.

And now being safe beynd expectation, *Montrose* bids the souldiers take their rest, whiles he determines thus of the whole affaire of the War. He sends the Lord *Gordon*, together with those that had continued loyall and dutifull after the revolt of his brother *Lewis* into their own Country, both that they might recall those whom his brother had seduced away, and recruit themselves by levying new forces. Which he cheerfully and courageously performed, and though he spared none, yet he was most severe with those that had been authours or accessaries to his brothers defection: and he was the more active in that businesse, that he might acquit himself of any suspicion. Nor indeed did *Montrose* himself or any other more detest that villany of *Lewis Gordon* then that noble Lord his brother. As for *Montrose*, he with a small party (for he kept but five hundred Foot and fifty Horse with him) marches through *Angus* into *Perthshire*, that he might distract the enemy till such time as he made up his Army with recruits from every side. Neither was he out in his aime, for the Covenanters had sent *Hurrey* the Lieutenant Generall of the Horse with a Command into the North, of a party of six hundred old Foot, and two hundred Horse; that he might strengthen their own side, and suppress the Lord *Gordon*. And *Baily* himself staid with an Army at *Perth*, as in the very heart of the Kingdome, ready to wait upon all motions. *Montrose* was twelve miles off at a village called *Kreif*, where *Baily* understood he quartered securely with a very small party: who being diligent upon all occasions, set out from *Perth* at the beginning of the night with all his Army, that by a speedy march he might at break of day fall unexpected into *Montrose's* quarters. But hee found *Montrose* careful enough of his businesse, and his Foot ready in armes either to march or fight; but he with his Horse came up towards the enemy to discover their number and strength. And when he found them to be two thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, he commanded his men to march speedily away, and following the course of the river *Erne* to make good the fords thereof: he with the few Horse that he had was their



their Rear-guard, lest they should have been troden in pieces by the enemies Cavalry. And truly he so valiantly repulsed the fierce assault of the enemy, that by killing some and routing others he forced them to a retreat, till at last his Foot after six miles march had made themselves masters of the passes of *Erne*. So the enemy retreated with the losse of their labour, and *Montrose* that same night being the 18. of *Aprill*, quartered at *Logh-Erne*, and came the next day to *Balwidir*, where the Earl of *Aboine* met him, who with some few more had escaped out of *Carlisle*, and hearing tydings of *Montrose's* good successe, had at last returned into his Country.

Leaving *Balwidir* they advanced to *Logh-Catruet*, where they receive intelligence that *Hurrey* had raised great forces in the North, and was ready to engage with the Lord *Gordon*; and therefore there was danger that he being an active Souldier and a good Commander should be able to over-master that gallant young Gentleman. Therefore *Montrose* thought it necessary to oppose *Hurrey* as soon as was possible, as well to secure so dear a friend from imminent danger, as to be nibbling at the enemies Forces as he found them asunder, and to cut off that power by peace-meal which he well knew if it were all in a body would be above his match. Therefore by long and continued journeys passing by *Balwidir*, and a Lake of four and twenty miles long, out of which the river of *Tay* breaks forth, through *Athole* and *Angus*, and over *Gransbaine*, through a vale called *Glenmilck*, he came to the midst of *Marre*. There he joyned with the Lord *Gordon*, who had now a thousand Foot and two hundred Horse, and marching straight to the *Spey*, laboured to finde out and engage with the enemy. Nor was he above six miles off when *Hurrey* thought he had not yet got over *Gransbaine*, for with unwearied labour and incredible speed he had over-run the very report of himself. *Hurrey*, lest a battell should be forced upon him whether he would or no, before he had received an addition of numerous Auxiliaries, in all hast passeth over the *Spey*. And because he had appointed the Rendezvouz of all his friends at *Inverness*, he yeth to *Elgin*; nor did *Montrose* pursue him lazily to *Elgin*. Thence with all speed he passeth to *Forresse*, nor did *Montrose* make lesse haste to follow and overtake him too at *Forresse*, and sat so close on his skirts for fourteen miles together, that notwithstanding he had the advantage of the night, he had much ado to reach *Inverness*.

The next day *Montrose* incamped at a village called *Alderne*: and *Hurrey* according to his hopes found the Earls of *Seafort* and *Sunderland*,

land, the whole sept of the *Frasers*, and most of *Murray* and *Cathness*, and the neighbouring parts to have assembled themselves to *Inverness* well appointed. To these *Hurrey* adds some old souldiers of the Garrison of that Town, and so draws up against *Montrose*. He now commanded three thousand and five hundred Foot, and four hundred Horse; but *Montrose* (who had no more but fifteen hundred Foot and two hundred Horse) had a great minde to retire. But not only *Hurrey* pressed so vehemently upon him, that it was scarce possible for him to retreat, but *Baily* also with a Southern Army much stronger then *Hurrey's* (especially in Horse) was now got already a great way on that side *Gransbaine*, and marched in great hast towards the *Spey*. What should *Montrose* do in this condition? He must of necessity either give *Hurrey* battell, or undergo a far greater hazard of being hem'd in between two Armies. Therefore he resolves to try the fortune of War without delay, to commit the success unto God, and chusing the best advantage of ground he could finde, there to expect the assault of the enemy. There was a little Town that stood upon the height which shadowed the neighbouring valley; and some little hills that were higher then the Town behinde it, that hindered the discovery of any one till they were just upon him. In this valley he draws up his Forces out of the view of the enemy. Before the Town he places a few but expert and choice Foot with his Ordnance, who were sheltered with such ditches as they found there. The right wing he commits to *Alexander Macdonel* with four hundred Foot, and lodged them in places fortified to their hand with banks and ditches, with shrubs also and great stones: and commands him to preserve himself entire, that he might be a reserve upon all occasions, and not to depart from his station which had so good a naturall fence, that they might lie there safe enough not only from the enemies Horse but Foot also. And with the same good advice, he committed to his charge that notable Standard of the Kings, which only he was wont to carry before him; expecting that the enemy upon the sight of that would order the best of their Forces against that wing, which by reason of the disadvantage of the place would be rendred wholly unusefull unto them, till such time as he on the left flank should take his best advantage against them. And to that end drawing the rest of his Forces to the other side, he commands the Horse to the Lord *Gordon*, and takes charge of the Foot himself. Those few that stood before the Town under the shelter and covert of the banks and ditches seemed as if they were his main battel, whereas

whereas indeed he had none. And for Reserves, in that scarcity of men they were not to be thought of.

The enemy (as *Montrose* most wisely foresaw) as soon as they saw the Kings Standard ordered the most part of their Horse and old Souldiers (wherein their chief strength consisted) against that. And by this time the Van of the enemy began to dispute it with those before the Town, and on the right flank, and still as their souldiers were spent drew up fresh men; which *Montrose* because his number was but few could not so easily do: therefore he resolved with all his men that he had on the left flank to make a violent assault upon the enemy at once. And whiles he was thinking so to do, there comes unto him one whom he knew to be trusty and discrete, and whispers him in the ear that *Mac-donell* with his men on the right flank were put to flight. He being a man of a quick spirit, thought it was best to forestall the souldiers lest their hearts should faile them upon bad newes, and cries aloud to the Lord *Gordon*, *My Lord, what doe we doe?* *Mac-donell upon the right hand having routed and discomfited the enemy is upon the execution; shall we stand by as idle spectators whiles he carries away the honour of the day?* And with that he commands them to charge. *Hurrey's* Horse had no minde long to endure the shock of the *Gordons*, but wheeling about and beginning to run, left their flanks which they were to maintain open to their enemies. Their Foot, although thus deserted by their Horse, being both more in number and better armed then *Montrose's* men, stood out very stoutly as long as his men kept aloof; but as soon as he came to fall upon them hand to hand, he drove them to throw away their arms, and to seek, though to little purpose, to save themselves by their heels. But *Montrose* himself, not forgetting what was signified unto him by so faithfull a messenger, drew off with a few of his readiest men unto the right flank, where he found things in a far other condition then they were left.

For *Mac-donell* being a valiant man, but better at his hands then head, (being over-hasty in battell, and bold even to rashnesse) disdain-  
ing to shelter himself behinde hedges and shrubs whiles the enemy vapoured and provoked him with ill language, contrary to orders, upon his own head advanceth towards the enemy out of that most defensible fastness and station wherein he was placed. And he did it to his cost, for the enemy over-powering him both in Horse and Foot, and having many old souldiers amongst them, routed and repulsed his men. And certainly if he had not timely drawn them off into a close hard

by, they had every one of them together with the Kings Standard been lost. But he made amends for that rash mistake in his admirable courage in bringing off his men, for he was the last man that came off; and covering his body with a great target which he carried in his left hand, defended himself against the thickest of his enemies. Those that came closest up unto him were Pike-men, who with many a blow had struck their spear-heads into his target, which he cut off by three or four at once with his sword which he managed with his right hand. And those that made him any opposition in the close, seeing *Montrose* come in to his aid, and their own men on the other side put to flight, such as were Horse spur'd away, and the Foot (most of which were old souldiers out of *Ireland*) fighting desperately, were almost all of them slain upon the ground. The Conquerours pursued them that fled for some miles; so that there were slain about three thousand Foot of the enemy, amongst whom their old souldiers fought most stoutly; but almost all their Horse escaped by a more timely then honourable flight.

Nor had *Hurrey* himself with some of their best men which went last off the field escaped the hands of the pursuers, had not the Earl of *Aboine* by I know not what want of heed, displayed some Ensignes and Standards that had been taken from the enemy; and himself not following the chase but turning towards his own party, seemed to have been the enemy, and to threaten a new battell. With which mistake they were so long deluded, untill the enemies Horse, though much disordered, had shifted themselves away into such by-paths as they knew or could light upon: only a few of them came with *Hurrey* before next morning to *Inverness*. Of such of the enemy as were slain, the most notable were *Cambell Laver* a Colonell of old souldiers, *Sir John* and *Sir Gideon Murray* Knights, and other stout men, and perhaps not unworthy to be lamented, had they not stained their otherwise commendable valour with the horrid crime of Rebellion; nor in that did they so much follow their own judgements as the humour of the times, or the ambition, or avarice of their Chiefs. *Montrose* of those that served with him on the left flank missed only one man, and him a private souldier; and on that side where *Mac-donell* commanded, there were missing fourteen private souldiers also. But he had many more wounded, the curing and securing of whom was especially provided for by *Montrose*. Afterwards entertaining the prisoners with sweetnesse and courtesie, he promised all such as repented of their error, liberty or employment, and was

as good as his word : and such as were obstinate in their rebellion he disposed of into severall prisons. In this battell at *Alderne* the valour of young *Napier* did very much discover it self ; who being the son of the Lord *Napier* of *Marchiston* , and *Montrose*'s nephew by his sister, had but a little before without the knowledge of his father, or wife, steln away from *Edinburgh* to his uncle, and did at this time give an excellent assay of his valour, and laid down most firm principles of a most noble disposition. Whereupon the chief of the Covenanters took his father, a man almost threescore and ten years old (and as good a man as ever *Scotland* bred in this age,) and his wife, the daughter of the Earl of *Marre*, Sir *Sterling Keer* his brother-in-law (an excellent man also, chief of his family, and one that had suffered very much for his Loyalty) together with his two sisters, the one Sir *Sterlings* most virtuous Lady, the other a virgin, and cast them all into the dungeon ; from whence afterward they were to be delivered by *Napier* himself with the assistance of his uncle. This battell was fought at *Alderne* on the 4. of *May*, 1645.

#### C H A P. XI.

**M**ontrose allowing a few dayes of refreshment to his souldiers, marched to *Elgin* which is the chief Town of the Province ; where for the sake of those that were wounded, he made some longer stay, because they had there the accommodation of good Chyrurgeons and medicines, which are sometimes scarce to be had in the field. Afterward passing over the *Spey* he came to *Keith*, from thence to *Frendracks*, and so to *Strathbogy*. Here *Baily* meets him (unto whom *Hurrey* with those that remained of his broken Troops at *Alderne* was joyned) and provokes him to battell. *Montrose* kept back his men, who were spent with great travaile, and were far fewer both in Horse and Foot, though very eager to fight, till such time as he had raised new forces, and recruited them. Therefore thinking it enough to maintain that ground which he had chosen as commodiously as he could for himself untill night, passeth then to *Balvenie*, whither also the enemy followeth him : but he passing by *Strath-Done* and *Strath-Spey*, went up to *Badenob*. The enemy getting to the other side of the water provokes him again to fight ; but in vain, for he was very wary of giving them a set battell, but nevertheless by frequent skirmishes, and especially beating up quarters in the night, did so much weaken their power and courage, that they that were so haughtily daring



but a while ago, as well Commanders as Souldiers, hastily and disorderly betook themselves by night to *Innerness* when none pursued them. *Montrose* was not much displeased that he was so rid of this enemy, especially for this reason; the Earl of *Lindsey*, the prime ringleader of the Covenanters next unto *Argyle*, and his rivall too (as being brother-in-law to Duke *Hamilton*) used to give out, that *Argyle* wanted either care or courage; and howsoever it came to passe, was still unfortunate. And therefore he took upon himself the command of that Army which was newly raised, as if he would assay to manage the businesse with better conduct. And now he had passed over with his forces into *Angus*, intending to be a Reserve unto *Bailly*; and if any thing should happen otherwise then well, at the worst he was ready to hinder *Montrose's* passage over *Forth*. For they were alwayes very jealous lest *Montrose* should remove the seat of Warre to this side the *Forth*, and nearer *Edinburgh*. Therefore he resolved with all speed to quell *Lindsey* (who lay yet in *Angus* at a Castle called *Newmill*) both because the Generall was no souldier, and the souldiers raw, and unacquainted with the hardshipp of war.

In pursuit of which designe, departing from *Badenoch* he marcheth through the plains of *Marre* over *Gransbaine*, and came by long and painfull journies unto the coast of the river of *Airley*, intending to surpris the enemy on a sudden: which was easie to be done, for he had made such hast, that the newes of his approach was not so swift as himself. And now *Lindsey* was not above seven miles from him, and all things were ready for an assault, when (upon what occasion it is uncertain) almost all the Northern men privately ran away from their colours; and going back the way that they came, return into their Country. The Lord *Gordon* was in the Camp, and there was none there that detested that villany with greater indignation then he, in so much that *Montrose* had much adoe to with-hold him from putting such of the fugitives to death as had any dependance upon him. Some stick not to say, that these men were inveigled away by the private directions of his father the Marquess of *Huntley* to the Earl of *Aboine*, who by reason of his sicknesse was absent. For it vext *Huntley*, a haughty and envious man, to hear of the successe of *Montrose*; nor could he endure that inward friendship which was between his eldest son and him. However it was, *Montrose* being cast down with this unexpected misfortune, was forced to put off that Expedition against *Lindsey*, and to suffer patiently so great and easie a victory to be taken out of his hands.

Therefore



Therefore taking up new resolutions, he followeth after Colonell *Nathaniel Gordon*, a valiant man and a trusty, and welbeloved in his Country, whom he had sent before. And by this time *Baily* and *Hurrey* had returned from *Inverness*, and quartered in lower *Marre* by the side of *Dee*. And *Montrose* came by the coast of *Eske*, and the plains of *Marre* into the heart of that Country, commonly called *Cromarr*. And whiles he passed through those plains aforelaid, he dispatched *Mac-donell* with a party into the furthest part of the Highlands, to conduct such Forces as were there raised with all speed unto the Army. Afterward he sent away the Lord *Gordon* himself, to hasten and promote that levy of men which *Nathaniel Gordon* was lifting, by all the power and interests he had in those parts. Which he most diligently performed, and amongst others, brought his brother the Earl of *Aboine* back with him. Whilest these things passed in *Cromarr*, *Lindsey* joynes his Forces with *Baily* in lower *Marre*. With whom *Montrose* finding himself unable to deal, (the most part of his Forces being gone along with the Lord *Gordon* and *Mac-donell*) he stept aside to the ruinated Castle of *Kargarf*, lest the enemy should overlay him on the champaine grounds with their multitudes both of Horse and Foot; but when he was close unto the Mountains he feared them not. From hence *Aboine* falling sick again, betook himself to *Strathbogy*; and upon pretence of a guard, carried along with him a considerable number of Horse, whom his brother the Lord *Gordon* had much ado after ward to draw back to their colours. In the meantime *Lindsey* took a thousand old Souldiers from *Baily*, and gave him as many raw and new rais'd men for them; and as if he intended to do some famous exploit, returning through *Merne* into *Aungus*, with all the pains he took he did only this, he ranged with his Army up and down *Athole*, and after he had robbed and spoiled all the Countrey, he set it on fire. In this imitating *Argyle*, who was the first that in this age introduced that cruell and dreadfull president of destroying houses and corn: being better at fire then sword, when they came into empty fields and towns unmann'd.

*Baily* at that time went to *Bogy*, to besiege the fairest castle that belonged to the Marquess of *Huntley*, and indeed of all the North; and in case he failed to take it in, to waste and fire all the Country of the *Gordons* thereabouts. *Montrose* (although *Mac-donell* was absent with a great party) thought it necessary to relieve *Huntley* and his friends, whom he laboured to assure unto himself by all good offices, and hied thither. Where having notice that *Baily's* souldiers, though

though not all yet a great part, were new rais'd men (for he had parted with so many old souldiers to *Lindsey*) desired nothing more then without delay to fight him, and marcheth straight towards him. He had not gone above three miles before he discovered the enemies Scouts: He therefore sent before some of his readiest men that knew the wayes to view the strength, the rendezvous, and the order of the enemy. They immediately bring word, that the Foot stood on the top of a hill some two miles off; and the Horse had possessed themselves of a narrow and troublesome passe which lay almost in the middle between the two Armies, and were come on this side it. Against them *Montrose* sent such Horse as he had in a readinesse, with some nimble Firelocks, whom they first entertained with light skirmishes afar-off, and after retreated behinde the passe, which they had strongly man'd with musquetiers. *Montrose* sends for the Foot, that if it were possible they might dislodge the enemy from thence; but it could not be done, for they were parted by the fall of the night, which both sides passed over waking, and in their arms. The next day *Montrose* sends a Trumpet to offer a set battell, but *Baile* answers, he would not receive orders to fight from an enemy. He therefore seeing he could not drive the enemy from those passes without manifest losse and danger, that he might draw him out thence in sometime, marcheth off to *Pitblurge*, and from thence to a Castle of the Lord *Forbes* called *Druminore*, where he staid two dayes. And at last he understands the enemy had quitted the passes, and was marching toward *Sirathbogy*; so he at break of day sets forth towards a village called *Alford*. But *Baile* when he had gotten certain notice that *Mac-donel* with a considerable part of those Forces was absent in the Highlands, he voluntarily pursues *Montrose*, conceiving him to be stealing away, and about noon began to face him. *Montrose* determines to wait for the enemy (who as seemed to him came towards him) upon the higher ground: but *Baile* turning aside some threemiles to the left hand, *Montrose* holds on his intended march to *Alford*, where he staid that night, the enemy lying about fourmiles off.

The next day after, *Montrose* commands his men very early in the morning to stand to their armes, and make ready to battell, and placed them on a hill that stands over *Alford*. And as he with a Troop of Horse was observing the motion and order of the enemy, and viewing the fords of the *Done*, a river which runs by *Alford*, it was told him that the enemy, Horse and Foot, were making unto a ford which

which lay a mile from *Alford*, to the intent that they might cut off the Reare of their flying enemy; for so those excellent Diviners prophesied to their owne destruction. *Montrose* leaving that troop of Horse not farre from the Ford, together with some select and understanding men who should give him perfect intelligence of all things, he returneth alone to order the battell. And above all things he possesses himselfe of *Alford* hill, where he might receive the charge of the enemy if they fell on desperately. Behinde him was a moorish place full of ditches and pits, which would prevent Horse falling upon his Reare: before him was a steep hill which kept his men from the enemies view, so that they could hardly perceive the formost rankes. He had scarce given order for the right managing of all things, when those Horse whom he had left at the Ford returned with a full cariery, and bring word that the enemy had passed the River. And now it was no more safe for either of them to retreat without the apparent ruine of their party. It is reported that *Baily*, like a skilfull and wary Commander, was sore against his will drawne unto this battell; nor had engaged, had he not beene necessitated unto it by the rashness of the Lord *Balcarse*, a Colonell of Horse; who precipitated himselfe and the Horse under his command into that danger, whether *Baily* would or no, as that he could not be brought off without the hazard of the whole Army.

*Montrose* gave the command of his right wing (on which side the enemies Horse were most strong) unto the Lord *Gordon*; and appointed *Nathaniel Gordon*, an old Commander to his assistance. The command of the left wing was given to the Earle of *Aboine*, to whom also was joyned Sir *William Rollock*: And of the maine battell to two valiant men, *Glengar*, and *Drummond of Ball* the younger, unto whom he added *George Graham* master of the Camp, an expert souldier also. The Reserve, which was altogether hid behinde the hill, was commanded by his nephew *Napier*. And for a while, *Montrose* kept himself upon the height, and the enemy in the valley being fortified with pits and ditches; for it was neither safe for the later to charge up the hill, nor for the former to fall upon them that were surrounded with marshes and pooles. The numbers of the Foot were in a manner even, either side had about two thousand: but *Baily* was much stronger in Horse, for he had six hundred, and *Montrose* but two hundred and fifty. Only *Montrose* had this advantage, that the enemy were for the most part hirelings raised from dunghills, but those that served the King, Gentlemen, who fought for a good Cause and Honour,

*gratis*, and not for gaine; and such as esteem'd it more becoming to die then to be overcome. Besides *Montrose* knew that the greatest part of the old souldiers were gone with *Lindsy*, and the new ones would be so frighted with the shouts of the Armies, and the noise of Trumpets, that they would scarce stand the first charge. Therefore in confidence of so just a cause, and so valiant assertors of it, he first drew downe his men, and immediately the Lord *Gordon* giving a smart charge upon them, was courageously receiv'd by the enemy, who trued to the multitude of their Horse: and now being clos'd and come to handy blowes, no one could advance a foot but over his vanquished enemy; nor retreat by reason of the pressing on of those in the Rear. The first that made way for themselves and their men by a great slaughter of their enemies were the two *Gordons*, the Lord and the Colorell; and Colonell *Nathaniel* called out unto those expert Firelocks who now lin'd the Horse as they were went, *Come on my fellow souldiers, throw downe your now uselesse guns: draw your swords, and sheath them in the Rebels Horse, or hewing them.* They instantly tooke the word of command, and at the same time *Montrose* drawes up *Napier* with his Reserve, which lay out of sight on the other side of the hill; at whose sudden and unexpected coming, the enemy affrighted betooke himself to his heels. *Above* with the left wing kept off, nor did he attempt the enemy but by light skirmishes in small parties: who when they saw their own men on their left wing routed and fur to flight, made their retreat with little losse. Their Foot being deterred by their Horse, after they had desperately stood out a while, and refused quarter, were almost all cut off. The fall of the Lord *Gordon* was no little advantage to the escape of their Horse, who after the battell was won rushing fiercely into the thickest of them, received a shot through his body by the conquered and flying enemy, and fell down dead. Who also borne did not hotly pursue, being much troubled with the losse of his brother.

In this battell, *Montrose* did not lose so much as one common souldier, and of Gentlemen, one *Culchoi*, and one *Milton*; whose names and families I should most willingly have inscried, had I been so happy as to have knowl'dge of them, because they died gallantly in the bed of Honour; fighting for their King their Liberty, and the Laws. Nor are some Peeces as well Scotch as Irish to be forgotten, theyes scarce fourteen years of age a piece, who throwing down their masters baggage, and nought upon their rags and jumpier horse, did not only make a laire appearance on a body of Horse, but (as if they

had

had been Corrivalls in valour with their masters) beyond what might be expected from their years and strength, fell in among the thickest of their enemies. Of whom some, but very few were slain, nor did they sell their lives for nothing; and by that they gave an ample testimony of their towardnesse, and of so manly a spirit in children as might prescribe to riperyears. But the losse of the Lord *Gordon* had so deep an impression upon all mens affections, that they had the face rather of a defeated then victorious Army. The first scene of their sorrow was acted in a dull silence; in the next, the flood-gates were broke open, and the Army was full of sighes, and sobes, and wailing, and lamentation: and then with bedewed cheeks, as soon as their grief could get a tongue, they blam'd Heaven, and Earth, and Fortune, and every thing for depriving the King, the Kingdome, the Age, themselves, and their posterity of such a man. Thus forgetting their victory and the spoile, they fixt their eyes upon the lifelesse body, killed his face and hands, commended the singular beauty of the corps, compared the Nobility of his descent, and the plentifulnesse of his fortune, with the hopefullnesse of his parts; and counted that an unfortunate victory that had stood them in so much. And truly it was like to have happened, that their excessive sorrow for the losse of this noble Gentleman had conquer'd the Conquerors, had they not comforted themselves with the presence and variety of *Montrose*. Nor could he himself restrain himself from bewailing with salt tears the sad and bitter fate of his most dear and only friend, but lamented much that the honour of his Nation, the ornament of the Scottish Nobility, the ablest assertor of the Royall Authority in the North, and so intimate a friend unto himself should be thus cut off in the flowre of his age. In the mean time, hoping that reason and time between them would assuage that grief, he commands Physicians to embalme his noble corps, which afterwards being removed to *Aberdene*, he saw brought forth with a sumptuous and souldier-like Funerall, and interr'd in the Monument of his Ancestors in the Cathedral Church. This battell was fought at *Alford* on the 2. of *July*, 1645.

## CHAP. XII.

**M**ontrose that same afternoon that he had got this victory at *Alford*, marching to *Clunie* Castle, allowed onely two or three houres to his souldiers for their refreshment. And going from thence to the banke of the river *Dee*, sent away the Earl of *Arbaine*, who



succeeded his deceased brother, into *Inchmarshire*, and the places adjacent for recruits; for many of them who were at the fight being Highlanders, and not farre from their own habitations, had dropt home with their pillage. And because *Macdonell* was not yet returned, he kept his quarters at *Cragdon*, expecting both him and *Aboine*. But when he perceived those Auxiliaries were dispatched unto him with lesse speed then he hoped, and finding his expectation deluded, impatient of so long and disadvantageous delay, after he had got over the *Dee* and *Gransbaine*, fell down into *Merne*, and lay at *Fardon Chappell*, once famous for the Sex and Sepulchre of *St. Palladius*. Thence he sends to the Earl of *Aboine* (who was now come to *Aberdene*) to hatten unto him into *Merne* with such Forces as he heard he had raised. *Aboine* came indeed, but brought no great Host of Forces along with him; therefore he sends him backe into the North to raise as many men as he could possibly, and bring them with all speed unto the Camp. He himself going through *Angus* met his cosen *Patrick Graham* with his *Athole* men ready to live and die under his command, and *Macdonell* with a great power of Highlanders: with him was *Macklen*, the chief of his sept, a valiant man, and singularly loyall, who brought some seven hundred choise Foot of his friends and clients. Also the Chief of the *Macranolds*, a great man in the Highlands, and one that entirely lov'd the King, who had above five hundred men at his heels. The *Macgregories* also, and the *Macnabies*, men inferiour to none in valour and hardinesse, after the fashion of the Countrey followed their Commanders and Chiefs of their Families, whose certain number I cannot easily assigne. And *Glenegar*, a man never sufficiently to be commended for his valour, and loyalty to the King, and serviceableness and affection to *Montrose*, (seeing he in person almost from the Expedition into *Argyle* had never departed from him) by his uncles and others whom he employed brought in about five hundred more. Besides out of the plaines of *Marre* came a great number of the *Ferscharfons*, gallant men and of approved valour. And some too out of *Badenoth*, not many indeed but stout and able men of their hands.

*Montrose* being reinforced with such an Army, resolves to make his way into the heart of the Kingdome; as well to spoile the enemies levying of men in *Fife*, and the Country on this side the *Forth*, as also to break up the Parliament which the Covenanters had not without solemnity and ostentation summoned at *Saint Johns town*. Nor did any thing hinder him but want of Horse, of which alwayes he had such



such scarcity, that it was never or very seldome safe for him to fall down into the plain Countrey. But because he daily expected *Aldin* and *Airley* to come unto him with a considerable party of Horse, he passed over the *Tay* at *Dunkeld*, and lying near *Cominde*, struck no in a lieueur into the enemy who held *Saint Johns town*; and from thence approaching nearer unto them, he encamped in *Muthyn* Forrest.

The enemies Foot (all but the garrison scouldiers in the Towre) lay on the South of the river *Erne*. The Horse which were designed for the guard of the Town and Parliament, as soon as they discovered *Montrose's* Scouts, bring in a hot alarm that he was there, and come already close to the gates, and no question but he meant presently to scale the walls, and make an assault upon the Town: therefore they were earnest with the Nobility and the whole Parliament, to secure themselves by a speedy flight: when all this while *Montrose* had scarce a hundred Horse, and they were four hundred. But he the next day the more to encrease their terrour, drew nearer unto the Town with those Horse he had, and about the same number of ready Fire-lockes whom he mounted upon pack-horses; and set out his men in their view so much to his advantage, that they appeared a considerable body of Horse. And because the enemy kept themselves within the gates, forthwith turning towards *Duplin*, he diligently view'd this side of the River *Erne* and all that coast, as if he had Horse enough to keep all that Country in subjection. And truly thus much he got by it, that the enemy took him to be exceeding strong as well in Horse as Foot. Therefore they draw together as many Forces from all sides as they could make, whom they intended to fight with *Montrose* if he should offer to passe over the *Forth*. But he finding it not safe for himself neither to descend into the champion Country, they both kept their stations for many dayes, the enemy expecting Auxiliaries out of *Fife*, and the Country on this side the *Forth*, and out of the West; and *Montrose* looking for the like out of the North. And waiting impatiently for *Aboine*, who was too slow with his men, he sent some to hasten him, lest they should lose the opportunity of doing their business. He also complained, but in a soft and gentle manner, as before a faithfull friend, that *Aboine's* lingering and delay was in the fault, that a brave victory, by which he conceived the Rebels might have been utterly subdued, had slipped out of his hands; which misfortune no man doubted but his speed and diligence might have prevented.

The enemy when they understood that he onely cheated them with a false Muster of Horſe, having gotten aid from all parts, and by this time over-numbring him even in Foot, labour'd not only to provoke, but even compell him to fight. Whereupon he concluded to ſtep aſide a little into the neighbouring Mountains, whither he knew either the enemy would not advance, or if they did it would be to their loſſe. Therefore the enemy drawing near with all their Army to *Merſſyn*, he gives a private command for the Carriages to drive faſt up the hills, whiles he, as if he intended to fight, orders the battell, makes good the paſſes with ſtrong guards, and drawes up the Horſe into the Front. Nor did the enemy expect any other then to try it out by battell, which he made as if he would give, till ſuch time as the Carriages were got ſo farre before, that he conceiv'd them out of danger: and then he commands the Army in one body at their cloſe order to march away apace: He gave charge unto ſuch Horſe as he had, and his ableſt Firelocks to bring up the Reare, and to ſecure them from the enemies Horſe. The enemy providing for a preſent charge, as they expected, when they ſaw *Montroſe* retreating, firſt purſued eagerly though to no purpoſe; for he making good all paſſes as he went, eaſily repulſed them, and without loſſe of ſo much as one private ſouldier, came chearfully off into the heights and ſteep places that were unacceſſible unto the enemies Horſe, and for their Foot they fear'd no aſſault from them. It is remarkable, that when *Montroſe's* Horſe were come up unto the paſſes, and the enemy knew very well they were not able to purſue any further; left with all that paines they ſhould ſeem to have done nothing at all, they ſent out three hundred of their ableſt and readieſt Horſe to follow after them with a great ſhout and baſe language; whom when *Montroſe* ſaw, he call'd for only twenty active bodied men of the Highlanders that were uſed to hunting, and very good marks-men, and commanded them to check their intolence; and they firſt of all creeping hither and thither, and hiding their guns, took their aimes ſo well that they knockt downe ſome of the forwardeſt of thoſe men, who being men of the better ſort, by their example made the reſt more wary, ſo that they were all contented to retreat. But thoſe good hunters being encouraged with their good ſucceſſe, aſſoon as they ſaw their enemies diſorder'd, came into the open plain and reſolutely charged their Horſe: who, in as much feare as Bucks, or Does chased by Hunters, ſet ſpurs to their Horſes and fled back to their maine body as if the Divell were in them.

The enemy upon their retreat choſe that place for their Rendezvous

vouz from whence *Montrose* departed. *Mathfyn* Forrest : after they had done nothing worthy to be remembered in all that expedition but that when they found themselves unable to cope with men, they exercised their cruelty upon women : for all the wives of the Irish and Highlanders that they light of, (who followed the Camp for the love of their husbands) most basely and shamelessly they hew'd in pieces. *Montrose* kept his quarters at little *Dunkelton*, both because the place was cumbersome and unsuitable for Horse, and lay very conveniently for receiving such aids as he daily expected with *Aborne* out of the North. All which time the two piteerative Armies lying close together rather stood upon their guards than offered any assistance one to the other.

And now at length *Aborne* and Colonel *Nathaniel Gordon* brought up their men out of the North to *Dunkelton* men for their number indeed fewe then was expected but for their stoutnesse and true valour farre above their number. The Horse they brought were only two hundred, and some six score Firelocks whom they had mounted and made Dragoons : other Foot they brought none. Along with them came the Earl of *Sirley* and Sir *David* his son with four score Horse, most of them of the noble family of the *Oglebys* ; amongst whom *Alexander* sonne and heirof Sir *John Ogleby* of *Innerearis* was most eminent, not onely for the rare accomplishments of his person and the splendor of his Ancestors, but for the honour of his valiant and happy achievements, much above what his age could promise. *Montrose* being thus well recruited, thought it not good to lose any time but marched straight towards the enemy. But as soon as he came to *Amond* he thought it best to see in what condition the enemy was and to finde out whether that was true which he had received a fly ing report of ; that was, that very many of their Auxiliaries had deserted their colours and run home. Therefore leaving his Foot to take their rest a little before night he faced the enemy with his Horse ; with which fight being something affrighted, they kept within their trenches. At dnext morning early *Montrose* riding about to discover, was informed that they had stollen away at the dead of the night to *Mathfyn*, and in disorder had got over a bridge upon the *Lyne*. He instantly cautesh his men to march and passing the river at a stone bridge about six miles off, lay that night in *Sirath-Erne*.

## CHAP. XIII.

**F**ife is the most populous, the most rich, the thickest Country of Towns and Villages in all *Scotland*. Its inhabitants are little martiall, consisting most of Merchants, Shopkeepers, Mariners, and Husbandmen. But so new-fangled in their Religion, and so bewitched both by the example and authority of the Nobility, and by the Sermons of their seditious Ministers, that all of them upon the matter were extremely addicted to the Covenanters. The Country it self is almost an Island, being environ'd towards the South with the *Scottish Firth*, on the North with the *Tay*, which carrieth ships of great burden all along; on the East with the maine sea. No entrance thither by land but on the West, in the straights of which both Armies lay. The whole Country was in a distraction, some (especially their much admired Preachers that thundred nothing but Excommunications) inciting and compelling all of every estate and age to take up armes; others flocking in great numbers unto them, others running hither and thither to hide themselves, as every one was led by his own superstition, confidence or fear. *Montrose* was very desirous to assault the enemy, and try the fortune of a battell with them before they encreas'd their Forces with addition of the *Fife*-men; but it would not be. For they had so fortified themselves by the advantage of the ground, and the narrowness of the passages, that he could by no means either make his way unto them or draw them out into plainer ground. Having therefore made them severall fruitlesse offers of battell, he resolved to march into the heart of the Country, and came to *Kinross*, as well to hinder the rising of that Country, as to traine the enemy, at last out of their fastnesse to come in unto the aid of their distressed friends. They, not so much as daring to fall upon his Rear, turn'd another way, and keeping close to the banke first of the *Erne*, afterwards of the *Tay*, made speed towards the East-side of the Country. As *Montrose* passed along, he sent Colonell *Nathaniell Gordon*, and Sir *William Rollock* before him with a small party. These sending the rest of their party up and down to scout, kept only ten men in their company: on a sudden they happened upon two hundred of the enemy who were raising men in those parts; and being not able to retreat, they twelve encountered the two hundred, put them to flight, kill'd some and took other some prisoners.

*Montrose* that night came to *Kinross*, not doubting but they of  
*Fife*

*Fife* who were exceedingly out of love with the King, most firm to the Covenanters, and wholly given to the new superstition, were generally up in armes. Therefore thinking it not safe rashly to engage with so great a multitude of Horse and Foot, he determin'd to passe over the *Forth*; and that upon this ground, that he having wearied out the *Fife men* (whom he believ'd would not be easily perswaded to follow the Army further then their own borders) with long marches might vanquish them without a blow. For he accounted that most of them being born or brought up in shops, or ships, or taverns, and not acquainted with the hardship of souldiers would presently give out and be weary. Besides such of the Nobility as were in rebellion (after they saw with sorrow that the seat of the Warre was drawn so near them as the *Forth*) were raising men with more eagerness then ever before upon the Borders and in the West; of whom the chief were the Earls of *Lanerick*, *Cassils*, and *Eglington*. Whose levies *Montrose* laboured either to hinder, or draw themselves to his side before they came up to *Baily* and the *Fisemen*; therefore he marched from *Kinross* towards *Sterling*, and lay that night some three miles from the City. The next day tending the Foot before, he followed softly after with the Horse, because he suspected that the enemy pursued him in the Rear.

Nor was he deceived in that suspicion, for some Espyals whom he left behinde him brought word that *Baily* was hard by with the greatest Army that ever he had. And immediately the enemies Scouts came within view, one of whom having been too forward was brought prisoner to *Montrose* by some of his Horse. He being examined told them freely and confidently, that he believed *Baily* and his party were resolved to march all that night to engage him to fight as soon as was possible before they dismiss the *Fife-men*, who being already tir'd he hardly believ'd would be drawne over the *Forth*; accounting their work at an end as soon as the enemy was gone out of their own Country. Therefore *Montrose* that he might get speedily over the *Forth*, bid his men march apace, and going on the other side of *Sterling* (a good Town, and one of the Kings strongest Castles, in which the enemy had now a great garrison) that same night passed over the river at a Ford about four miles above the Town. And at break of day next morning made a halt a while about six miles from *Sterling*: where he had intelligence, that the enemy the night before had not come over the *Forth*, but quartered three miles from *Sterling* on the other side of the river. Therefore *Montrose* holding on his intended journey, en-

camped himself in that fatal place, the Field of *Kilsyth*. He bids the souldiers to refresh themselves, but however to be in a readinesse either to fight or march, as occasion should serve. The enemy the mean while by an easier and shorter cut got over the *Forth* at *Sterling* bridge, and encamped at night some three miles from *Kilsyth*.

In the interim, the Earl of *Lanerick* Duke *Hamilton's* brother had rais'd a thousand Foot and five hundred Horse of the friends and clients of the *Hamiltons*, in *Cluidsdale* and the places adjacent, and was not at present above twelve miles from *Kilsyth*. And the Earls of *Cassils*, *Eglinton*, and *Glencarne*, with others of the Covenanted Nobility, were engaging the West unto the same impious *Militia*; who were so much the readier to take up arms, by how much they had less felt the miseries of warre. Which things being well considered, *Montrose* thought it best to fight with those Forces which *Baile* had at present. For although they were more numerous then his own, yet the danger was like to be greater of his side, if he should be put to engage with them when *Lanericks* and other parties were come up. But moreover he was either obliged to take this course or do nothing, and return back into the Highlands with the blemish of that Honour which by so many victories he had achiev'd. The enemy on the other side being arrogant, and confiding in the multitude of their men, believ'd that *Montrose* had but made a running march the dayes before, and had pass'd the *Forth* more out of fear then designe, so that they counted it nothing to assault him in that ground and entrenchment which he had chosen to his best advantage. And above all, their proud hopes were most carefull of this, to block up all wayes of his escape, and to prevent his return into the Mountains. But there are some that say, *Baile* himself thought it not best to give him battell, but was over-sway'd by the authority and votes of the Earl of *Lindsey* especially, and some other of the Nobility that were present in the Army, which forc'd him much against stomach to draw up his men, and order the battell as he could. However it was, early in the morning they led their men straight upon *Montrose*: which when he saw, he told the standers by that that was happen'd which he most desired, for now he could supply his want of men by the advantage of the ground; and therefore he made haste to possesse himself of the fastnesses before them. Moreover he commands all his men as well Horse as Foot to throw off their doublets, and to affront the enemy all in white, being naked unto the waste all but their shirts; which



which when they had chearfully performed, they stood there provided and ready to fight, resolved certainly either to conquer or die.

In the field where they intended to fight there were some Cottages and Country-gardens, where *Montrose* had conveniently lodg'd some few men; and the first design of the enemy was to dislodge them. But it took not, for making a fierce assault and being as stoutly receiv'd, as soon as they were observ'd to cool something of their first heat, those that mann'd the places beat them off, drove them away, and slew them without resistance. The Highlanders being animated with this happy success, those that were next those places not expecting the word of Command, ran rashly up the hill which lay open to the whole strength of the enemy. *Montrose* although he was something troubled at the unreasonable boldness of his men, yet thought it not good to leave them engaged; nor was it easie to lay whether the quickness of his relief or the cowardliness of the enemy conduc'd more to their safety. *Montrose* had in all four thousand four hundred Foot, and five hundred Horse; a thousand of his Foot or more had now by their own fault so engaged themselves with the enemy that they could not come off, for the enemy encounter'd them with six thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse. But the enemies Rear came up but slowly, and while the Van made a stand expecting their advance, *Montrose* had opportunity to bring timely aid to his engaged men. But at last they send out three troops of Horse, and after them two thousand Foot against those rash and almost lost men of *Montrose's*. Which when *Montrose* saw (after others had too dishonourably shifted off that service) he thus bespeaks the Earl of *Airlay*, *You see (my noble Lord) how yonder men of ours by their unadvisedness have brought themselves into a most desperate hazard, and will presently be trampled to dirt by the enemies Horse, except wee relieve them with all speed. Now all mens eyes and hearts are fixt upon your Lordship, they thinke you onely worthy so great an honour as to repell the enemy and bring off our fellow souldiers. Besides it seems most proper for you, that the error which hath been committed by the foolhardiness of youth may be corrected by your Lordships grave and discreet valour.* And he undertook the service (as dangerous as it was) with all his heart, and being guarded with a troop of Horse, (in which rode *John Ogleby* of *Baldecy*, who had formerly been a Colonell in *Swethland*, a stout man, and a skilfull souldier) led them on straight upon the enemy. And they giving the charge upon the *Ogleby's*, disputed it sharply with them for a while, but at last being no longer able

to withstand their courage fact about : whom the *Ogleby's* pursued so hotly, that they made them fall foule upon their owne Foot ; and ( charging them furiously thorough and thorough ) routed them and trode them under foot. By this gallant example of *Airley* and the *Ogleby's*, *Montrose's* souldiers being enrag'd more and more could no longer be kept back from raising a great shout ( as if they had already got the day ) and falling on upon the enemy. Nor would the Rebels Horse long abide their charge, but deserting their Foot, fell a running as fast as ever they could : Nor did their Foot after they were so deserted stand it out long, but throwing down their armes sought to save their lives by flight. Which proved unserviceable, for the victorious pursuers had the killing of them for fourtene miles : So that of all the enemies Foot that were present at that battell, it is thought there did not an hundred come off. Nor did their Horse escape very well, of whom some were killed, some taken, the rest disperst. Their Ordnance, their Armes, their Spoiles came clearly to the Conquerours, who lost only six of their side; whereof three were *Oglebys*, valiant Gentlemen, who fighting like themselves, sealed the victory with their own bloud. The rebellious sort of the Nobility ( of whom many were in the fight ) some of them by their timous running and swiftnesse of their Horses got to the Town and strong Castle of *Sterling* ; other escaping to the *Scottish Fyrth* shipt themselves in some vessels that lay at anchor near the shoare : amongst whom *Argyle* ( having now this third time been fortunate to a boat ) escaped into a ship ; and thought himself scarce safe enough so, till weighing anchor he got into the main. Of prisoners, the chief were *Sir William Murray of Blebe*, *James Arnot* brother to the Lord *Burghley*, one *Col. Dice*, and *Col. Wallis*, besides many more, whom *Montrose* after quarter given used courteously, and upon the engagement of their Honours set at liberty. And this is that famous victory of *Kilsyth*, obtained on the 15 day of September 1645. in which it is believ'd no fewer then six thousand Rebels were slain.

#### CHAP. XIV.

There was a great alteration all the Kingdome over after this battell at *Kilsyth*; those of the Rebell-Nobility were all of them fore affrighted, some of them fled to *Barwicke*, some to *Carlisle*, some to *Newcastle*, others into *Ireland*. And such as before only privately wisht well unto the King, now did no longer fear to shew them-

themselves, to expresse their loyalty, to pray openly for his prosperity, and to offer their service. But those that before had sided with the Covenanters began to ask forgiveness, to plead they were constrain'd to take up armes by the violence and tyranny of the Rebels, to submit their persons and estates to the Conquerour, humbly to beseech his protection, and implore his wonted clemency. And Cities and Countries that were furthest off began to dispatch their Commissioners to professe in their names their Allegiance to their King, their duty and service to his Vicegerent, and freely to offer him men, arms, provisions, and other necessaries of War. The Nobility of the Realm and the Chiefs of Septs came in thick unto the Lord Governour, welcomed him, rendered their service unto him, extoll'd his high and honourable achievements, and thank't him for them. All whom he pardoned for what was past, received them with liberty and indemnity into his protection, and encouraged them to be of good cheer. *Nor did he lay any greater burden upon them, then to change that covetous and cruell slavery which they were manacled with by the Rebels, for the sweet and gentle government and protection of a most gracious Prince; and by laying aside all former grudges and feuds, hereafter more religiously to observe their duty and loyalty to the good King; and thenceforward never more to have to do with the counsells of seditious men, who by endeavouring to satisfie their own lusts, had engaged King and Subject one against the other, and upon the matter ruin'd both. For his part he never had any other intention, then to restore their Religion, their King, their Liberty, his Peers and Countrymen, by Armes (when no other means was left) out of the tyranny of Rebels unto their ancient peace, happynesse, and glory. Which if he should effect, he would give Almighty God the author of all good things everlasting praise; but if he failed, however he should by these his honest endeavours acquit himself before God, and Gods Vicegerent his Majesty; before all good men, and his posterity, his honour, and his conscience.*

At this time the whole Kingdom sounded nothing but *Montrose's* praise. Men of all sorts every where extolling the ingenuity of his disposition in which he out-went all his Equalls; the gallantry of his person in war, his patience in travels, his evennesse of spirit in dangers, his wisdom in counsels, his faithfulness to such as submitted, his quicknesse in dispatches, his courtesie to such as he took prisoners; in a word, his truly heroicke vertue in all things, and towards all men. And this honour most men gave him in good earnest, and out of a sincere affection, but some in craft and dissimulation; and as every one had

wit or skill they set forth his *Encomiums* or *Panegyricks* in Verse of Prose. Yea such is the volubility of humane things, and the inconstancy of the whirling multitude, that they were not afraid openly to curse and rail at the ringleaders and prime men of the Covenanters Faction, such as *Argyle, Lindsey, Loudon*, and others, (whom a while agoe they honoured and adored for Saints) as authors of all the mischiefs that had befallen them.

All things going on thus happily, the Northern parts of the Kingdome being secured on his back, the way being opened unto him into the South, the power of the Rebels every where quash't, their chief leaders (who in conscience of their guilt despaired of mercy) driven out of the Kingdome, and no considerable party remaining in armes; yet in the West there were some stirres. For the Earls of *Cassils* and *Eglinton*, and some other promoters of the Covenanters Cause laboured to engage the Countries in a new War, and were said to have rais'd in a tumultuary way the number of four thousand men. Therefore *Montrose* the next day after the battell of *Kilsyth* drew his men into *Clunisdale*, from whence the Earl of *Laserick*, being struck with the newes of their late overthrow, disbanding those men that he had rais'd, was fled. *Montrose* chose that quarter as lying most commodiously for his affaires in the South and West; and marched to *Glasgow*, which is the principall city of that Country. He receiv'd the Town into his protection, and entering into it with the joyfull acclamations of the people, first of all he restrained his souldiers from plunder, and then being severe against the delinquents, for the terrour of others, he put some of the chiefest incendiaries of them to death. After that in favour of the Citizens, the next day after he came, he departed the Town and quartered at *Bothwell*. Where because it was but six miles from the City, lest the Citizens should be prejudiced by the insolence of the souldiers, he gave them leave to stand upon their guard, and defend the City with a garrison of the inhabitants. Hoping with such acts of clemency to engage not only the men of *Glasgow* unto himself, but the inhabitants of other Cities also, by good offices more then by force and armes.

At *Bothwell* he staid many dayes, where he received the personall addresses of some of the Nobility, and of others by their Trustees, Friends, and Messengers; and settled the peace of Towns and Countries thereabouts, who all willingly submitted themselves. The chief of the inhabitants of those parts who came to welcome him and offer their service were, the Marquesse of *Douglasse*, a man of a most noble family

family, and chief of the *Douglases*; the Earls of *Linnmuck*, *Annandale*, and *Hertford*; the Lord Barons of *Seton*, *Drummond*, *Fleming*, *Maderdy*, *Carnegy*, and *Joufston*; *Hamilton* of *Orbeston*, *Charter* of *Hempfield*, *Toures* of *Innerleigh*, (a most deserving man, who afterwards lost his life gallantly in battell) *Stuart* of *Resyth*, *Dalyell* a brother of the Earl of *Carnwarth*, Knights: and many more whose names I can either not rightly call to mind, or else think fit to forbear at present, lest by giving them an unreasonable and thanklesse commendation now whiles they lie under intolerable tyranny, I should do them more harm then honour.

After the victory of *Kilsyth*: no thoughts had higher place in *Montrose's* noble breast, then the enlargement of such prisoners as for no other fault but the sin of Loyalty had been most basely used, and still expected death, in the grievous and filthy gaole of *Edinburgh*. Therefore he sends his nephew *Napier* with Col. *Nathaniell Gordon* and a commanded party of Horse to *Edinburgh*, to summon the City and receive it upon surrender, to set the prisoners at liberty, and to settle the Town in peace and loyalty; but in case they stood out and refused to submit, to threaten them with fire and sword. They also as they came within four miles of the Town made a stand, (and intended to come no nearer, unless they chanced to be forced unto it by the obstinacy of the Citizens,) as well that at that distance they might the more easily restrain the unrulinesse of the souldier, lest they should wrong the poor inhabitants, and in their fury reduce that cursed City which had been the cause and fomenter of all the Rebellion into ashes, which *Montrose* gave them especially in charge by all means to prevent; as also to preserve the Army safe from the plague, which was hot in the City and places adjacent, and whereof very many died every day. As soon as ever the newes of their approach was brought unto the Town, they all began to tremble and despaire of their lives; and to raise a cry as if the swords were already at their throats, or their houses in a flame. Not a few of them being pricked in their guilty consciences, freely and openly accus'd themselves for the most ungratefull, traitorous, sacrilegious, and perjured persons in the world, and unworthy of any mercy. Then applying themselves unto the prisoners they had, both calling unto them afar off, and sending private messengers, they implored their assistance; and besought them in compassion of the poore silly people, who were almost wasted too with a great mortality, to pacifie the anger of the Conquerours whom they had most justly incensed: told them, all their hopes lay in them, and they were utterly.

terly undone without their help. Protested moreover, that if they found mercy but that one time, they would redeem their former revolt with more religious fidelity and constant Allegiance ever after. The prisoners (whom but the other day the basest of the people bitterly abused and reviled, cursing and bequeathing them to the gallows and worse) forgetting all injuries received, and more troubled with the sense then revenge of their sufferings, first rendred hearty thanks to Almighty God who of his mercy shewed unto them that liberty and safety which they little expected; and then turning unto their deadly enemies, bade them be of good cheare, for the most gracious King (and his Lieutenant Montrose) desired the safety and happinesse of his repenting Subjects, and not their extirpation and ruine. Therefore they advised them immediately to send some delegates to Montrose, humbly to beg his parda; for nothing could better appease the rage of a Conquerour then a speedy submission. For their parts they would not be backward to mediate with him for their safety, and doubted not but his high and noble spirit which could not be vanquished with their armes, would yet suffer it self to be overcome with the prayers and lamentations of men in misery.

The *Ednburgians* being comforted with these hopes, and assisted with this good advice, immediately call a Hall to consult of sending delegates. There were among the prisoners of those that were most high in birth, and favour with *Montrose*, *Lodowick* Earl of *Crawford*, Chief of the most ancient and noble family of the *Lindsays*, a man famous for Military service in forraign Nations, amongst the *Swedes*, *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*. This man by the power and cunning of his cosen the Earl of *Lindsey* (who because he was greedy of the honour and title of the Earl of *Crawford*, was greedy also of his life) was designed by the Covenanters to be put to death. Nor was it for any other crime but for being a Souldier, and an expert man, and one that had done faithfull service for his Master the King, and it was feared he would doe so againe if he should be suffered to live. There was also *James* Lord *Ogleby*, son to the Earl of *Airley*, one singularly beloved by *Montrose*, who was formidable both for his fathers and his own vertue and authority. He also being an enemy to *Argyle*, both upon old feuds and some fresher wrongs, was just as deep in sin and danger as *Crawford*. These therefore the Common Counsell of *Edinburgh* chose out of the rest of the prisoners, and immediately setting them at liberty, they earnestly pray and beseech them to assist their Delegates to the uttermost of the power they had with the Lord Governor.



vernour, and to labour to hold his hands off that miserable City, upon which the hand of God himself lay so heavy already. And they curse themselves and their posterity to the pit of hell, if they should ever prove unmindfull of so great a favour or unthankfull to them that did it. They were not backward to undertake a business which was so universally desired, but taking the Delegates along with them went forth to *Napier*. He having by the way delivered his dear father, his wife, his brother-in-law *Sir Sterling Keer*, and his sisters out of the prison at *Limnuch*, whither the Covenanters had removed them from *Edinburgh Castle* marched backe unto his uncle with his Forces, and those prisoners now at liberty, and the Delegates of the City, as having done his business. *Montrose* embracing *Crawford* and *Ogleby*, his dearest friends whom he had long longed for, and rejoycing to see them safe and sound, used them with all honour and accommodation after their long restraint; and they on the other side magnified their deliverer and avenger with high praises and thanks, (as became them to do,) on both sides affording a spectacle of great joy to the beholders.

Afterwards the Delegates of *Edinburgh* were admitted to audience, and delivered their Message from the Provost and City. The summe was *They would freely surrender the Town unto the Governor, humbly desired his pardon, promised to be more dutifull and loyall for the time to come; committed themselves and all that they had to his patronage and protection: for which they earnestly besought him. Moreover they undertooke forthwith to set the rest of the prisoners at liberty according to his appointment, and to doe any thing else that he should enjoyne them. And although the City was so wasted with a grievous contagion that no men could be raised out of it, yet they were ready as far as their share came, to pay contribution to such as should be raised in other places. And above all things they humbly begged at his hands, that he would labour to mitigate the anger of their most gracious Lord the King, that he might not be too severe with that City, which by the cunning, authority, and example of a seditious and prevailing party had been engaged in Rebellion.* *Montrose* bade them be confident of the rest, and required no more at their hands then to be hereafter more observant of their loyalty to the King, and faithfully to renounce all correspondence with the Rebels in arms against him, either without or within the Kingdom; To restore the Castle of *Edinburgh* (which it was evident was in their Custody at that time) unto the King, and his officers. Lastly, as soon as the Delegates came home, to set the prisoners at liberty and send them to him. And truly as for the prisoners they sent them away upon

their return: but as to other Articles they were perfidious, and perjured; and if they doe not repent must ere day give an account unto God the assertor of truth and justice for their high ingratitude, and reiterated disloyalty.

Whiles these things passed concerning *Edinburgh*, *Montrose* sent away *Alexander Mac-donell* (to whom he joyred *John Drummond of Ball*, a stout Gentleman) into the Western coasts to allay the tumults there, and to spoile the designs of *Cassils* and *Eglinton*. But they receiving the a'arme of *Mac-donell's* approach were immediately disperst in a great fright. Some of the Earls and other Nobles made straight into *Ireland*, others plaid least in fight in I knew not what lurking places. All the Western Countries, the Towns of *Sine*, *Irwen* and others strove which should first submit, freely offering their fidelity and service. Neither (which was more then he expected) did *Montrose* ever finde men better affected to the King then in those Western parts: For most of the Gentry, Knights, and Chiefs of Families, and some also of the prime Nobility came off chearfully to his side. Whose names, which otherwise ought to have been registred with honour, at the present I shall passe by (if not in an acceptable perhaps, yet certainly in an advantageous silence,) for I should be loath so honest and loyall soules should be questioned by their cruel enemies, for their good affections, upon my information.

#### C H A P. XV.

**M**ontrose had now taken into his thoughts the settling of the South-borders, and sent unto the Earls of *Hume*, *Rosborough*, and *Trequare*, to invite them to associate with him for matter of Peace and War, and all things that were to be done in the name and by the authority of the King. There were not only the powerfullest men in those parts by reason of the multitude of their friends and their great retinue, but also made as though they were most cordiall assertors of the Kings authority. For besides the bond of Allegiance, which was common to them with others, they were engaged unto him by extraordinary benefits. Nor were they only advanced unto great Honours by him, as being raised from the order of Knighthood to a high pitch of Nobility; but were made Governours of the most gainfull Countries, and by that means being enriched above their equals and their own condition, heaped up wealth indeed unto themselves, but envy and hatred upon the King. They againe dispatch  
some

some of their friends of the best quality to assure him, *That they were ready to undergoe any hazard under his conduct and command in the behalf of their most bountifull King, They promise moreover to raise a world of men, and nothing hindered their coming up unto the Camp, if he would but be pleased to draw that way with never so small a party of his forces. And so it would come to passe, that not onely their friends and clients, but the whole Countrey being animated with his presence and authority, would cheerfully take up armes as one man; and if they stood out they might be compelled, or a course taken with them. Therefore they earnestly besought him to afford them his assistance in this, and in all the rest he should finde them his most faithfull and ready servants.* These were fair words, and at first hearing seem'd to carry an honest meaning along with them; but were promised with that kind of faith that the Creatures and Favourites of the too indulgent King are us'd to keep. And perhaps upon that score he Earl of *Lanerick* (*Duke Hamiltons* brother) is more to be commended, whom *Montrose* having earnestly solicited by friends to come off to the Kings side, although that way he might very likely expect his pardon for what was past, and the releasement of his brother, yet without any dissimulation he gave this peremptory answer, *That he would have nothing to doe with that side, and that he would never pretend that friendship which he intended not to preserve.* And I would to God all they on whom the good King has too much relied, had delivered themselves with the same candor and plain dealing ever since the beginning of these troubles.

About the same time *Montrose* sent the *Marquesse of Douglasse* and the Lord *Ogilby* over into *Anandale* and *Niddisdale*, that there with the assistance of the Earls of *Anandale* and *Hartfield*, they might lift as many souldiers, Horse especially, as they could. And gives them orders withall to march with such as they should so raised towards *Trequare*, *Roxborough*, and *Enne*; that they might engage them without any further put offs in an association with them. For *Montrose* understood a little what Court-holy-water meant, and therefore was something suspicious of the delays which they fram'd, the rather having had some experience of their cunning and slipperinesse, especially of *Trequarens*. And truly *Douglasse* by the chearfull endeavours of the Earls of *Anandale* and *Hartfield*, had quickly raised a considerable party, if one count them by the head; but they were new men, taken from their plowes and flocks, and but raw souldiers: forward enough at the first charge, but by and by their hearts faile them, and they can

by no means be kept to their colours. When *Douglass* and the rest of the Commanders considered this, they write againe and againe to *Montrose*, that he would make haste after them with his old souldiers towards *7weed*; for by his presence and authority, and the company and example of the old souldiers, they might be brought either willingly, or whether they would or no to know their duties. In the meane time according to his command they go on to *Strathgale*, freely offering an opportunity and their service if it needed) to *Roxborough* and *Trequare*, to draw out their men the more easily and timely. But they (good men) who well enough understood the secretest counsels of the Covenanters, and knew that all their Horse would be there immediately out of *England* under the command of *David Leslie*, intended nothing more then to over-reach the King with their old tricks, and to deliver *Montrose* (whose glory they envied) into the hands of his enemies, though not by armes (for that they could not) yet by treachery. To that end they insinuate againe and againe not only unto *Douglass* and his party, but to *Montrose* himself by their friends and frequent messengers, that for their parts they were ready to expose their persons to the utmost hazard, but they could never be able to draw together their friends, clients, and Trained bands, except they were animated and encouraged with *Montrose* his presence. And that they might be the better beleaved, they curse themselves to the pit of hell if they did not stand stilly and unalterably to their promise. *Montrose* notwithstanding was not taken with all this, but staid still at *Bothwell*, conceiving that if there were any truth or honesty in their words, *Douglass* and his party who still lay in the Country adjacent, would be sufficient for the raising and encouraging of their friends and dependents.

At length when *Montrose* had quartered a great while at *Bothwell*, most of the Highlanders being loaden with spoile ran privily away from their colours and returned home. Presently after their very Commanders desired Furloughs for a little while, pretending that the enemy had not an Army in the field within the borders of that Kingdom, and therefore their service for the present might well be spared; besides they complained that their houses and corn, in and with which their parents, wives, children were to be sustained that winter, were fired by the enemy, and no provision made for them, so that they humbly desired to be excused for a few weeks, in which they might take care to secure their families from hunger and cold. Alio they solemnly and voluntarily engaged their words, that they would return many

many more then they went, and much refreshed, within forty dayes These *Montrose*, seeing he could not hold them, as being Volun tiers and fighting without pay, that he might the more engage them, thought fit to dismitte them not only with Licences but Commissi- ons. And giving publick commendations to the souldiers, and thanks in his Majesties name to the Commanders, exhorting them to follow their buhnesse closely and vigorously, he appoints *Alexander Mac- donell* their Countreiman and Kintima (who was but too ambitious of that employment) to be their companion and guide, who should bring them back to the Camp by the day appointed. Who in a set speech gave thanks in all their names to the Lord Governour for his so no- ble favour; and as if he had been their Baile or surety, with a solemne oath undertook for their sudden return: yet he never saw *Montrose* after. Nor was he contented to carry away with him the whole For- ces of the Highlanders, (who were more then three thousand stout men) but he privily drew away sixscore of the best Irish, as if (forsooth) he had pick't them out for his Life guard.

About this very time many messengers came severall wayes to *Bothwell* from the King at *Oxford*. Amongst whom one was *Andrew Sandiland*, a Scotch-man, but bred in *England* and entred into holy Orders there, a very upright man, faithfull to the King, and much re- spected by *Montrose*, who continued constantly with him unto the end of the War. Another was *Sir Robert Spotswood*, once the most de- serving President of the highest Court in *Scotland*, and now his Ma- jesties Secretary for that Kingdome; who passed from *Oxford* through *Wales* into *Englsey*, and thence getting a passage into *Loghaber*, came into *Athole*, and was conducted by the men of *Athole* unto *Montrose*. Almost all the Agents that came brought this Instruction amongst the rest, *That it was his Majesties pleasure, that he should joyne unto himself the Earls of Roxborough and Trequaire, and confide in their advice and endeavours; of whose fidelity and industry no ques- tion was to be made. Moreover that he should make haste towards the Tweed, where he should meet a party of Horse which the King would instantly dispatch out of England to be commanded by him, with whom he might safely give battell to David Lesly, if (as was suspected) he marched that way with the Covenanters Horse.* All this the respective bearers unanimously delivered, and his most excellent Majesty being over-credulous signified by his Expresses. And *Montrose* being now over-born with the Kings absolute Commands, takes up his resolution to march to the side of *Tweed*. But the day before he went, the souldiers

diere being drawn up to a Rendezvous, (before that *Mac donell* and the Highlanders were gone) *Sir Robert Scottiswood* making an humble obeysance, under the Kings Standard, delivered his Majesties Commission under the Great Seal unto *Montrose*, which he again gave unto *Archibald Primrose* Clerk of the Supreme Counsell to be read aloud. That being ended in a short but stately Oration, he commended the Valour and Loyalty of the Souldiers, and the great affection he bore them. And for *Mac-donell*, he not only extoll'd his gallantry in the head of the Army, but by virtue of that authority that he had received from the King gave him the honour o Knighthood. For not only *Montrose* but all the Kings friends were confident of the integrity of the man; whose good opinion he deceiv'd, not only to the undoing of the Kings Cause, but the utter ruine of himself and his friend.

*Montrose* following his intended journey, came the second night to *Calder Castle*; at which time the Earl of *Aboine* (whether the Lord Governour would or no) carried away with him not only his own men but all the rest of the Northern Forces, whom he had inveighled to desert the service. Nor would he be perswaded either by reason or the intreaty of his friends (who heartily detested that shamefull act) to stay but so much as one week, and then he might depart not only with the Generals licencie, but with honour, and the good esteem of honest men. Seeing it would be no better, *Montrose* passing by *Edinburgh*, led his small Army through *Lothairshire*, and in *Strathgale* joyned with *Douglass* and the other Commanders, whose Forces being much diminished, were daily mouldring more and more. In that coast *Trequare* himself came unto him, more chearfull and merry then he used to be; who pretended himself to be a most faithfull servant not only to his Majesty but also to *Montrose*, and the next day sent him his son the Lord *Linton* with a gallant party of Horse, as if they were to be under his command, that by so likely a pledge he might make *Montrose* more secure, and so more easily ruine him. For this was not the first time that *Trequare* plaid the Covenanters Scout-matter: that ungratefullst piece of mankind intending to betray unto them *Montrose*, and in him the King himself.

Now when he was not above twelve miles from the Lords *Hume* and *Roxborough*, and they sent not so much as a Messenger to him, nor offered him the smallest courtesie, *Montrose* being much troubled at it, resolv'd to march into their Territories, and to bring them in either by faire means or foule. But they prevented him by a singular device;



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device ; They sent unto *David Lesley* whom they well knew by that time was come to *Berwicke* with all the Scotch Horse, and many English Volunteers (for they were privy to all their counsells) and entreated him to send a party and carry them away in the condition of prisoners ; which he did the day before *Montrose* came thither. For by this means that crafty old fox *Roxborough* (who had *Hume* under his girdle) conceiv'd that they might both ingratiate themselves with the Covenanters, as freely committing themselves into their protection, and yet keep in the Kings favour whiles they made as if they fell into *Lesley's* hands sore against their wills. And this being *Lesley's* first noble exploit, he passed over *Tweed* and marched into the East-side of *Lothian*. *Montrose* as soon as he perceived the King and himself betray'd by these men, and saw no hopes of that party of Horse which was come from the King, and that the too powerfull enemy would block up his passage into the North and Highlands, resolved to march with those few men he had into *Niddisdale* and *Annandale* and the Countrey of *Ayre*, that he might there raise what Horse he could. For although he had no certain intelligence concerning the strength of the enemy, yet hee conjectured that it consisted especially in Horse.

#### C H A P. XVI.

**M**ontrose arising from *Kelfow* marched to *Jedburgh*, and so to *Selkirk* ; where he quartered his Horse in a Village, and his Foot in a wood close by. For he was resolved to make sure of all advantages of ground, lest he should be forced to fight with an enemy of whose strength he knew nothing upon uneven termes. Then he commands the Captains of Horse to set out good store of faithfull and active Scott, and to place Horse guards in convenient places on every side and look well to their watch. All which he in person (as he used to do) could not see done at present because that night he was dispatching letters to the King, and to send away a trusty messenger that he had light upon, before break of day : therefore he was earnest with them to have the more care, lest the enemy who were very strong in Horse should surprize them unawares. And the Commanders promising all care and diligence, he was so taken up with writing of letters that he slept not all that night. And sending ever and anon to the Captains of Guards (men that were skilfull Souldiers, and so known to be in forraign Countries) such uncertain noises as were

were brought unto him of the enemies approach, they being deceiv'd either by the negligence of their Scouts or their own misfortune, very confidently sent him back word there was no enemy in those parts, nor in the Country thereabouts. At the break of day some of the best Horse, and most acquainted with the Country were sent out again to Scout; they also brought word they had been ten miles about, and diligently examined all by-ways, and rashly with damnation to themselves if they could finde an enemy in armes within ten miles. But afterward it appeared when it was too late, that the enemy with all their Forces were then scarce four miles from *Selkirk*, and had lien there all that night in their arms.

*Lesley* that day that *Montrose* departed from *Jedburgh*, mustered his men upon *Gladesmore* a plain in *Lothianshire*; where holding a Counsell of War with the chief of the Covenanters, the result was that he should march to *Edinburgh*, and so to the *Forth*, that he might hinder *Montrose's* retreat into the North, and force him to fight whether he would or no before he joyned with his Highlanders. But *Lesley* contrary to that resolution, gives order on a sudden to his whole Forces to wheel to the left hand, and to march away apace; every one wondering that knew not the mystery of the business, what should be the meaning of that change of his resolution, and his intention in that sudden expedition, for they marched streight to *Srathgale*. But the matter was, (as they afterward gathered from the enemies themselves) he had received letters by which he had perfect notice that *Montrose* being attended only with five hundred Foot, and those Irish, and a very weak party of new-raisd Horse, might very easily be surpris'd on the borders of *Tweed*, if *Lesley* would make use of that opportunity was offer'd him to doe his business. Therefore *Lesley* upon this intelligence made haste thither, and (as I said) lodg'd within four miles of *Selkirk*. That *Trequare* sent those letters unto *Lesley*, although it was the generall report, I cannot certainly affirm; but it cannot be denied that that same night he sent his Commands to his son the Lord *Linton* that he should immediately withdraw himself from the Royall party, which with much jollity he did. This was like themselves, being the ungratefulest of all men, deserting their King of whom none had better deserved, and staining their posterity. And truly that morning being very misty gave no small advantage to the treachery of the enemy; whom at last *Montroses* lighted Scouts discover'd to march towards him in a full body at such time as they were not above half a mile off.

*Montrose*

*Montrose* mounting the first Horse he could light on, gallops into the field appointed for the Rendezvonz that morning; where he finds a great deal of noise, but no order. The Cavalry being little acquainted with their duty, and lying already dispers'd in their quarters, where they dream't more of baiting their horses than maintaining their lives and honours, upon the first alarm which they received from the enemies Trumpet, ran disorderly up and down they knew not whither, but never came in the fight. Yet there were a few, and those were for the most part Noblemen or Knights, who made all speed thither, and gallantly undertook to make good the right wing: and they were not above sixscore in all. Nor did the Foot who (were about five hundred) make a good appearance, for many of them looking about their private businesses among the Carriages, by that unseasonable care of saving, lost themselves and all they had. And, which spoiled the matter which was bad enough before, most of the Commanders were absent and never came in the field. Besides, the enemy coming on so speedily left them no time for deliberation. The enemy therefore who were six thousand (whereof most were Horse out of *England*) furiously charging *Montrose's* right wing were twice gallantly received and repuls'd with no small losse. Nor could they make that noble Troop give any ground, or break through it, untill at last laying along those few Foot that withstood them, they broke in upon the left flank where there was no Horse. By this, two thousand Horse whom the enemy had sent over to the other side of the river were gotten on the Rear of those noble Gentlemen, who, lest being hem'd in on every side, and gall'd with the enemies shot at distance, they should fall for nothing and unreveng'd, withdrew themselves every one the best way he could. But the Foot who could have little security by flight, fighting a good while stoutly and resolutely, at last upon quarter ask't and given for their lives, threw down their armes and yielded themselves prisoners. Every one of whom being naked and unarm'd, without any regard to quarter given, *Lesley* caus'd to be most unhumanely butcher'd. The stain of which perfidious cruelty (by which he hath so filthily blurr'd his honour, if any he got in forraign service) he shall never be able to wipe away. As for those that escap'd out of the battell the enemy pursu'd them no further, being busie in plundering the Carriages, where they made a lamentable slaughter of Women, Pedees, and Cook-boys: no pity was shown to sex nor age, they went to the pot altogether. The number of the slain is not easie to be given, almost no Horse, and

very few Foot (besides those that yielded themselves and had quarter) fell in that battell: which may appear by this that they were no more then five hundred in all, and before the next day two hundred and fifty of them came safe to *Montrose*, all of them with their swords by their sides, so that there could not be as many more missing: and very few were taken prisoners, and not untill their horses being tired, and themselves ignorant of the way, they became a prey to the country people. Whom they, forgetting all the benefits and protection they had but newly received from *Montrose* to do the Covenanters a favour, delivered up unto their cruell enemies, to be made by them acceptable sacrifices to *Baal-Berith*, the god of the Covenant.

For all that, the Rebell conquerours missed of the Kings Standards. The one of them (which was carried before the Foot) was preserved by an Irish souldier, a stout man, and of a present spirit when others were almost beside themselves; who when he saw that the enemy had got the day, stript it off the staffe and wrapped it about his body: and being otherwise naked, made his way with his drawn sword through the thickest of the enemy, and brought it to *Montrose* at night. Whom he received into his Life guard, and gave it him to carry in token of his valour and loyalty. And the other of them *William H.* brother to the Earl of *Kinoul*, a hopeful young Gentleman (who succeeded his uncle by the mothers side, *Douglasse* son to the Earl of *Merton*, who having receiv'd many and grievous wounds at the battell of *Alford*, was rendered unable for that burden, stript from off the staffe too and carried it away with him. And conveighing himself into the borders of *England* skulked there a while till the coast was a little clearer about *Tweed* and then through by wayes and night-journies for the most part, (being accompanied and conducted by his faithfull friend *Robert Tounes*, a stout man and a good souldier, who had been a Captain in *France* a good while ago) returned into the North, and presented that same Royall Standard unto the Generall.

And now at last *Montrose* when he saw his men totally routed and put to flight (which he never saw before) thought of nothing more for a good space then to die honourably and not unreverged; therefore rallying about thirty Horse whom he had gathered up in that confusion, he resolved by fair and honourable death to prevent his falling alive into the enemies hands. And seeing he was not able to break through the enemies Troops (who stood thick round about him) he gall'd them on the Front, and Rear, and Flanks, and of such as were

so hardy as to adventure out of their ranks. many he slew, others he beat back. But when all that he could do would not do his business as God would have it this consideration possessed his resolute and noble spirit; That the loss of that day was but small and easily regained, because but an inconsiderable part of his Forces were there. That the Highlanders were the very nerves and sinewes of the Kingdom, and all the North was sound and untouched. That many of the prime Nobility and men of power, many Knights too and Chiefs of their Septs had entered into an association with him; who if he should miscarry would be suddenly ruined or corrupted, and by that means the Kings party in Scotland utterly subdued. Therefore he thought himself bound never to despair of a good Cause, and the rather lest the King his Master should apprehend the loss of him to be greater then the loss of the battell. And while these thoughts were in his head, by good hap came in the Marquess Dorglas and Sir John Dalryell, with some other friends (not many but faithfull and gallant men) who with tears in their eyes (out of the abundance of their affection) beseech, intreat, implore him for the honour of his former achievements, for his friends sakes, for his Ancestors, for his sweet wife and childrens sakes, nay for his Kings, his Countreys, and the Churches peace and safeties sake, that he would look to the preservation of his person; considering that all their hopes depended on him alone under God, and that their lives were so bound up with his, that they must all live or die together. At last Montrose overcame with their intreaties, charging through the enemy (who were by this time more taken up with ransacking the Carriages then following the chase) made his escape: of those that were so hardy as to pursue him, some he slew, others (among whom was one *Finca* a Captaine of Horse, and two Cornets with their Standards) he carried away prisoners. Whom he entertained courteously, and after a few dayes dismiss them upon their Parole, that they should exchange as many Officers of his of the like quality, which Parole they did not over punctually perform.

Montrose was gotten scarce three miles from *Selkirk* when he having overtaken a great number of his own men that went that way, he made a pretty considerable party; so that being now secure from being taken upon by the Country people, he march't away by leisure. As as he went by the Earl of *Trequarres* Cattle; by whose dishonesty he did not yet know that he had been betray'd) he sent one before him to call forth him and his son that he might speak with them; but his servants bring word that they were both from home. Notwith-

standing there are Gentlemen of credit that testifie, that they were both within; nor did that gallant Courtier only bid the Rebels joy of their victory, but was not ashamed to tell abroad (not without profuse and ill becoming laughter) that *Montrose* and the Kings forces in *Scotland* were at last totally routed; his own daughter the Countesse of *Queensborough*, as far as modestly she might, blaming him for it. *Montrose* after he had made a halt a while near a Town called *Peblis*, untill the souldiers had refresh't themselves and were fit to march many flocking to them from every side, at Sun-set they all stoutly entered the Town; and by break of day next morning (by the conduct of Sir *John Dalryell* especially) passed over *Cluid* at a ford. Where the Earls of *Crawford* and *Airley* having escaped another way met with him, making nothing of the losse of the bartell as soon as they saw him out of danger. Nor was he lesse joyfull at the safety of his friends, then that he had sav'd and pick't up by the way almost two hundred Horse. But although he was already secure enough from the pursuit of the enemy, neverthelesse he resolved to make what haste he could into *Athole*; that taking his rise there, he might draw what forces he could raise of the Highlanders, and other friends into the North. Therefore passing first over the *Forth*, and then the *Ern*, having marched through the Sherifdome of *Perth* by the foot of the Mountains, he came thither. As he was on his way, he had sent before him *Douglasse* and *Airley* with a party of Horse into *Angus*, and the Lord *Areskin* into *Marre*, that they might speedily raise their friends and dependents in those parts; and had also sent Sir *John Dalryell* unto the Lord *Carnegy* (with whom he had lately contracted affinity) with Commissions to that purpose. Moreover he sent letters to *Mac-donell*, to require him according to his promise to return with the Highlanders by the day appointed. But above all he sollicit-ed *Aboine* both by letters and speciall messengers, that he would bring back his friends and clients, who were willing enough of themselves, and wanted no other encouragement then his authority and example.

#### CHAP. XVII.

**I**T was towards the latter end of Harvest, nor was the corn reap't in that cold Country, nor their houses and cottages which the enemy had burnt repaired against the approaching winter (which is for the most part very sharp thereabouts,) which made the *Athole*-men



to abate something of their wonted forwardnesse. Yet *Montrose* prevailed so far with them, that they furnished him with four hundred good Foot, to wait upon him into the North where there was lesse danger; and faithfully promised him upon his return, when he was to march South-ward, he should command the whole power of the Country.

Mean time frequent expresses came from *Aboine* that he would wait upon him immediately with his Forces; and *Mac-donell* promised no lesse for himself and some other Highlanders. *Areskins* signified also unto him that his men were in a readinesse, and waited for nothing but either *Aboines* company (who was not far off) or *Montrose's* commands. About this time there were very hot but uncertain reports of a strong party of Horse that were sent him from the King, whom many conceived not to be far from the South-borders. But other newes they had which was too certain to wit, that there was a most cruell butchery of what prisoners the Rebels had, without any distinction of sex or age: some falling into the hands of the Country people, were basely murdered by them; others who escap't them (and found some pity in them that had so little) being gathered together, were by order from the Rebell Lords throwne head-long from off a high bridge, and the men together with their wives and sucking children drown'd in the river beneath; and if any chanced to swim towards the side, they were beaten off with pikes and flaves, and thrust down again into the water. The Noble men and Knights were kept up in nasty prisons to be exposed to the scorn of the vulgar, and certainly doom'd at last to lose their heads. *Montrose* was never so much troubled as at this sad newes.

Therefore to the end he might some way relieve his distressed friends, being impatient of all delay, with wonderfull speed he climbs over *Gransbaine*, and passing through the plains of *Marre* and *Strathdone*, maketh unto the Lord of *Aboine*, that he might encourage him by his presence to make more hast into the South. For his design was, as soon as he had joyned his forces with *Areskins* and *Airleys*, and sent for *Mac-donell* and other Highlanders, and taken up the *Athole-men* by the way, to march in a great body straight over the *Forth*, and so both to meet the Kings Horse, and to fight the enemy, upon their apprehension of an imminent danger to themselves, from putting the prisoners to death. For he conceived they durst not be so bold as to execute their malice upon men of Nobility and Eminency, as long as they had an enemy in the Field, and the victory was uncertaine.

And truly, they being doubtfull and solicitous what might be the success of so great warlike preparations as they knew were in providing, did deferre the execution of the prisoners. *Montrose* upon his journey found the Lord *Presim* very sick but his clients, whose fidelity and valour he had had sundry experiences of, even in the absence of their Lord) all in a readinesse if *Montrose* did but doe his part; for they depended much upon his example and authority. And now the Marquesse of *Huntley* after he had played least in fight for a year and some moneths, (it is hard to say whether awaken'd with the newes of so many victories obtain'd by *Montrose*, and the reducing of the Kingdom, or by the deceitfull influence of some bad starre, was returned home. An unfortunate man and unadvised, who howsoever he would seem most affectionate unto the Kings Cause (and perhaps was so,) yet he endeavoured by a close and dishonourable envy rather to extenuate *Montroses* glory then to out-vie it. Which seeing it was not for his credit openly to professe even before his own men (who were sufficient witness of *Montroses* admirable virtues) left by that he should discover some symptomes of a heart alienated from the King; yet he gave out, that for the time to come he would take upon himself the conduct of that War against the Rebels; therefore he commanded his Tenants, and adviled his friends and neighbours, scarce without threats, to fight under no command but his own. And when they replied, *What shall we then answer to the Commands of the Marquesse of Montrose whom the King hath declared Generall Governour of the Kingdom, and Generall of the Army?* He made answer, *That he himself would not be wanting to the Kings service; but however is concerned much both his and their honour, that the King and all men should know what assistance they had given him, which could not otherwise be done then by serving in a body by themselves.* Moreover he fell to magnifie his own power, and to undervalue *Montroses*, to extoll unto the skies the noble Acts of his Ancestors, (men indeed worthy of all honour,) to tell them, *That the Gordons power had been formidable to their neighbours for many Ages by gone, and was so yet; That it was most unjust that the achievements gotten with their blood and prowess, should be accounted upon another mans* (meaning *Montroses*) *score: but for the future he would take a course, that neither the King should be defrauded of the service of the Gordons, nor the Gordons of their deserved honour, favour, and reward.*

All these things the simpler sort tooke to be spoken upon all the grounds of equity and honour in the world; but as many as were understanding

standing men, and knew better the disposition of the person, saw through those expressions a minde too rancorous and altogether indispos'd towards *Montrose*, and that his aime was to fetch off as many as he could from him, not only to the utter ruine of the King and Kingdome, but even to his own destruction; which (God knows) the sad event made too manifest. Nor were there wanting amongst them desperate men and of good fore-sight, who condemned this counsell of his as unwise, unseasonable, and pernicious even to himself. For they considered with themselves that *he never had any designe that did not miscarry either by bad play or bad luck. That businesses were better carried by Montrose, and it was ill to make a faction upon the poore pretence of his carrying away the honour of it. For if Huntley joyned his Forces, and communicated his counsels unto Montrose he should not be onely able to defend himself, but subdue his enemies, and gave unto himself the everlasting honour of being one of the Kings Champions; but if he should make a breach in that manner, it would prove not onely dishonourable but destructive to him. That Montrose (it could not be denied) had got many and eminent victories with the assistance of the Huntleys, but they had done nothing of note without him.* Therefore they earnestly desired him, constantly to adhere unto the Kings Lieutenant, which as it would be both acceptable and advantageous to the King, so it would be well taken with good men, and honourable to himself. Nor did some of them fear to professe openly that they would yeeld their duty and service to *Montrose*, if *Huntley* should stand out in his humour; and they were as good as their words. But he refusing the advice of his friends resolved what ever came on't to run counter to *Montrose*; nor did *Montrose* ever propose any thing though never so just, or honourable, or advantageous, which he would not crosse or reject. And if at any time *Montrose* condescended to his opinion (which he did often and of purpose) he would presently change his minde; seeming to comply with him sometimes before his face, but alwayes averie unto him behinde his backe, and indeed scarce well agreeing with his own self.

For all this, *Aboine* being at that time solicited by many expressions from *Montrose*, and the importunity of his own friends (that he might be some way as good as his word) met him with a considerable party at *Drummore*, a Castle of the Lord *Forbeses*. He brought with him fifteen hundred Foot and three hundred Horse, all chearfull and ready to undergoe any hazard under the command of *Montrose*. And truly as soon as ever they met, *Aboine* freely protested he would carry

carry those men that he had whithersoever the Lord Governour should lead him; but there were many more behinde (which for his scantnesse of time he had not got together) which his brother *Lewis* would bring after him. *Montrose* extolling highly his fidelity and pains, turned back again almost the same way he came; that taking up the Lord *Areskins*, and the *Marre* Forces by the way, and climbing over *Gransbaine*, he might fall down into *Athole* and *Angus*, nor doubting within a fortnight to be able to passe over the *Forth* with a great Army. The first dayes journey *Aboine* and his men marched with a good will, but the next night his brother *Lewis* (whom *Montrose* had placed under the command of the Earl of *Crawford*) conveyed himself homewards with a strong party of Horse, making as if he meant to encounter some Troops of the enemy, and carried along with him as many souldiers as he could get upon pretence of a guard. *Crawford* returning brought word that *Lewis* was gone home, but would be back again next day, for so he had made him believe though he intended nothing lesse then to come back; a Youth liable to censure for more feats then that. But when upon the third day they came to *Alford*, it was observed that *Aboines* men were slow to stand to their colours, that they loytered in their march, that their ranks were thin and disorder'd, and that they ran away by whole companies almost every night: and at last their Commander *Aboine* himself was not ashamed to desire to be excused, and to have leave to depart. When all men wondred, and desired to know what might be the reason of that sudden alteration of his resolution, he pleaded his fathers Commands, which he was obliged in no case to disobey; and that his father had not sent him such directions without just occasion; for the enemies Forces lay in lower *Marre*, and would be presently upon their backs, if they were deprived of the protection of their own men: and that it was unexcusable folly for him to carry his men another way when his own Country was in so much danger. *Montrose* reply'd, That it was most certaine that ovely a few Troops of Horse kept within *Aberdene*, that they had no Foot at all, and those few Horse nor durst nor could doe the Country any harme; and there was no doubt but upon the first alarme of his approach, their Commanders would send for those also to secure the Low-lands. Besides, that it would be much more to the *Marquesse* of *Huntleys* advantage, if the seat of Warre were removed into the enemies Country then be kept up in his own: and upon that score there was more need to make haste into the South, that they might save the North from the burden of the Armies. He added moreover,

moreover, That he daily expected aids out of England, which could by no means joyn with them except they met them on the South-side of the Forth. And at last with much resentment he represented unto him, the condition of the prisoners (who were many of them Huntley's own kindred, allies, or friends) who would all be unhumanely murdered except they timely prevented it. To all this when *Aboine* had nothing to answer, he desired his father might be acquainted with the whole matter, and 'twas granted. Such were made choice of to treat with *Huntley* as were conceived to be highest in his favour, to wit, *Donald Lord Rse*, in whose Country he had sojourned, and *Alexander Irwin* the younger of *Drumme*, who had but the other day married *Huntley's* daughter: and both of them were also much obliged to *Montrose* for their newly recovered liberties. *Rse* being ashamed of receiving the repulse had not the confidence to return; and *Irwin* (a noble young Gentleman, and a stout, who stuck to *Montrose* to the last) brought no answer but his father-in-law's ambiguous letters of which no hold could be taken. Being desired to deliver what he conceived his father-in-law's resolution was; he professed ingenuously he knew not what to make of him, he could get no certain answer, but doubted he was obstinate in his fond conceit. *Aboine*, first declaring how sore against his will it was to part with *Montrose*, urged how necessary it was for him to please his dear father, who was sickly too: and therefore more earnestly desired the Lord Governour to dispence with him for a few dayes till he could pacifie his father; and made an absolute promise, that within a fortnight he would follow him with much stronger forces. And when had often and freely engaged his honour to do as he said, he extorted with much ado a Furlough from *Montrose* sore against his stomach, to be absent for the time aforesaid.

*Aboine* being returned home, *Montrose* marched over the plains of *Marre* and *Scharfschiach* and came down into *Arbole*: and thence (having a little increased his Army) into the Sherifdome of *Perth*, where receiving an expresse out of the North he is put into new hopes, *Aboine* having sent him word he would be with him with his men before the day appointed. At the same time came unto him by severall wayes Captain *Thomas Ogleby* of *Pourie* the younger, and Captain *Robert Nesbit*, both of them sent unto him from his Majesty with Commands, that if he could possibly, he should make all speed towards the Borders to meet the Lord *George Digby* son to the Earl of *Bristol*, who was sent unto him with a party of Horse. The same

bearers *Montrose* dispatcheth to *Huntley* and *Aboine* to communicate unto them those Instructions from the King, hoping by that means, that being quickened with his Majesties authority, and the approach of aid, they would make more haste with their forces, in the vain expectation of whom he had trifled away too much time in *Strath-Erne*.

About this time the Lord *Napier* of *Marchiston* departed this life in *Athole*; a man of a most innocent life and happy parts; a truly noble Gentleman, and Chief of an ancient family; one who equalled his father and grandfather *Napiers* (Philosophers and Mathematicians famous through all the world) in other things, but far exceeded them in his dexterity in civill businesse; a man as faithfull unto as highly esteemed by King *James* and King *Charles*: sometime he was Lord Treasurer, and was deservedly advanced into the rank of the higher Nobility; and since these times had expressed so much loyalty and love to the King, that he was a large partaker of the rewards which Rebels bestow upon vertue often imprisonment, sequestration, and plunder. This man *Montrose* when he was a boy look'd upon as a most tender father, when he was a youth as a most sage admonitor, when he was a man as a most faithfull friend; and now that he died was no otherwise affected with his death then as if it had been his fathers. Whose most elaborate discourses *Of the Right of Kings*, and *Of the Originall of the turmoiles in Great Britaine*, I heartily wish may sometime come to light.

#### CHAP. XVIII;

**M***Ontrose* when he had waited for *Aboine* with his forces out of the North now three weeks, either on his march or in *Strath-Erne*; and perceived that the Rebels began to grow more outrageous towards the prisoners, being impatient of further delay crosseth over the *Forth*, and came into *Leven*: and he encamped upon the land of Sir *John Buchanan* the Ringleader of the Covenanters in those parts, expecting that by that meanes, lying so near *Glasgow*, he might fright the Rebels (who then kept a Convention of Estates there) from the murder of the prisoners. To which end facing the City every day with his Horse he wasted the enemies Country without any resistance: although at that time for the guard of the Estates and City they had three thousand Horse in their quarters and he not full three hundred, and twelve hundred Foot. Notwithstanding before his coming down into *Leven*, the Covenanters as soon as they understood that

*Huntley*



*Huntley* and *Montrose* agreed not, and that *Aboine* and his men had deserted him in upper *Marve*, as a prologue to the ensuing Tragedy, had beheaded three stout and gallant Gentlemen.

The first was Sir *William Rollock*, one of whom we have had often occasion to make honourable mention; a valiant and expert man, dear unto *Montrose* from a childe, and faithfull unto him to his last breath. The chief of his crimes was that he would not pollute his hands with a most abominable murder. For being sent from *Montrose* with an expresse to the King after the battell of *Aberdene*, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, and was condemned unto death, which he had not escaped except for fear of death he had harkened unto *Argyle*, (who most unworthily set a price upon *Montroses* head, and promised great rewards, honours, and preferments to whomsoever should bring it in) and had taken upon himself to commit that treason which he abhorred with all his soule. By which shaft having his life and liberty given him, he returned straight to *Montrose*, and discovered all unto him, beseeching him to be more carefull of himself, for not he onely (who heartily detest'd so high a villany) but many more, had been offered great matters, most of whom would ute their best endeavours to dispatch him.

The next was *Alexander Ogleby*, of whom we also spake before, eldest son to Sir *Iohn Ogleby* of *Innecaris*, descended of an ancient family, and much renowned in the Scottish Chronicles. He was but yet a youth (scarce twenty,) but valiant above his age, and of a present and daring spirit. Nor can I hear or so much as conjecture what they had to lay to his charge, but that new and unheard of Treason, to wit, his bounded duty and loyalty to his King. But there was no help for't but *Argyle* must needs sacrifice that hopefull youth, if it had been for nothing but his names sake, for he bare an implacable feud to the *Oglebys*. The third was Sir *Philip Nesbit*, of an ancient family also, and Chief of it next his father; who had done honourable service in the Kings Army in *England*, and had the command of a Regiment there. Nor can I discover any reason they had to put him to death neither, (besides that which is used when they have nothing else to say, that mad charge of the new high Treason, except it was that their guilty consciences suggested unto them that that courageous and vigilant man might take occasion sometime hereafter to be even with them for the horrid injuries they had done his father and his family. However these men suffer'd a noble death with patience and constancy, as became honest men and good Christians. And un-

so these there are two brave Irish Gentlemen that deserve to be joy-  
 ned, Colonnell *O-Cahen* and Colonnell *Laghlin*, odious unto the Rebels  
 only for this impardonable crime, that they had had many experiments  
 of their courage and gallantry. These Irish Gentlemen were mur-  
 dered indeed at *Edinburgh*, but many more were doom'd to the like  
 execution at *Glasgow* had not *Montrose*s unexpected approach within a  
 few miles of the City had so much influence that it reprieu'd them  
 till another time. The Lord Governour was very much perplexed  
 with the newes of these mens death, and it was a question whether he  
 was more vex't at the cruelty of the Rebels, or the negligence if not  
 treachery of his friends. For besides *Huntley*, whose Forces he had so  
 long in vaine expected to come with his son *boine*, *Mac donell* al-  
 so himself (of whom he entertained an exceeding good opinion), be-  
 ing often sent unto, and invited also by the neartie of the place, al-  
 though the time appointed by himself was already past and gone, made  
 no appearance of his approach. Six weeks had now passed since *Boine*  
 had engaged himself for the Northern Forces, and the winter (then  
 which our age never saw sharper) was already deeply entered. Besides  
 the aids that the King had sent under the Command of the Lord *Dig-  
 by* were defeated: all which might easily have been salv'd, and the  
 Kingdome reduced againe, if those great Professors of loyalty had  
 not plaid fast and loose in that good Cause. Therefore at last on the  
 20. of *November*, *Montrose* departing from *Levin*, and passing over  
 the Mountains of *Taish*, now covered with deep snow, through woods  
 and loghes whose names I do not at this time well remember, crossing  
 also through *St. ath. Erne* and over the *Tay*, returned into *Athole*.  
 There he met Captain *Ogleby* and Captain *Nesbit*, whom he had for-  
 merly sent with the Kings instructions unto *Huntley*. And they bring-  
 word the man was obstinate and inflexible, who would beleieve no-  
 thing that they said; and when they unfolded unto him the Kings  
 Commands answered scornfully, *That he understood all the Kings bu-  
 sinesse better then they or the Governour himself; and neither he nor any  
 of his children should have any thing to doe with him.* Moreover he  
 sharply and threateningly reproved his friends and clients, who had wil-  
 lingly assisted *Montrose*; and dealt worse with them then with Rebels.  
 Nevertheless the Lord Governour thought best to take no notice  
 of any of these things, but bear with them, and whiles he treats with  
 the *Athole* men for the settling of the *Milnes* of that Country, he  
 sends againe unto *Huntley* by Sir *John Dailly*, as a more fit mediator of  
 friendship. Who was to informe him of the danger the King and King-  
 dome.

done was in, and so of the present misery that hung over his and all faithfull Subjects heads; and to make it appear unto him that it was no ones but his and his sons fault, both that they had not brought in the supplies into Scotland which the King had sent, and that the prisoners, who were gallant and faithfull men, had been so cruelly butchered; and that yet there were many more remaining that had near relations to Huntley himself and some also of the prime Nobility, whom the Rebels would cut off after the same fashion unless they were now at last relieved. And lastly, to pray and beseech him that at least he would grant the Kings Governor the favour of a friendly conference, promising he would give him abundant satisfaction.

Huntley although he answered *Dalyel* in all things according to his wonted peevishnetle, yet he was most of all averse to a Conference; as fearing (seeing he should have nothing to answer to his arguments and reasons, the presence, the confidence and the wisdom of so excellent a man. But *Montrose*, as soon as things were settled in *Atbole*, that he might leave nothing unattempted that might possibly bring him to better thoughts, resolved dissembling all injuries, and obliging him by all good offices, to surprise him, and be friends with him whether he would or no; and to treat with him concerning all things that concern'd his Majesties service. Therefore in the moneth of *December* he forced his way very hardly through rivers and brooks, that were frozen indeed, but not so hard as to bear menswaight, over the tops of hills and craggy rocks, in a deep snow: and passing through *Argus* and over *Granibaine*, drew his Forces into the North: and almost before he was discover'd marched with a few men into *Strathbogy*, where *Huntley* then liv'd. But he being struck with his unexpected approach, upon the first newes he heard of him, lest he should be forced to a Conference against his will, immediately fled to *Bogie*, a Castle of his situate upon the mouth of the *Spey*; as if he intended to ferry over the river, and to wage war against the Rebels in *Murray*.

And now it comes into my minde briefly to enquire what might be the reason why *Huntley* bore such a spleen against *Montrose*, who had never given him any distaste, but had oblig'd him with courtesies many times undeserved. Nor could I ever hear, nor so much as guesse at any other cause but a weak and impotent (emulation I cannot call it, but) envy of his surpassing worth and Honour. For I should be loath to say that his minde was ever alienated from the King, but onely averie unto *Montrose*; with the unjust hatred of whom he was to possess, that he precipitated himself into many unexcusable mistakes;

inſomuch as he deſired rather all things were loſt then that *Montroſe* ſhould have the honour of ſaving them. And now being already puſſed up with an unbecoming conceit of himſelf, he was the more exceedingly enraged againſt him upon the remembrance of thoſe injuries and diſgraces he had heretofore throwne upon him; and that was the chief reaſon (as I take it) that he ſo often avoided the fight of him. For, beſides what we have occaſionally delivered, both the father and the ſons had put neither few nor ſmall affronts upon the Kings Vicegerent; ſome few of which it will not be out of our way to relate.

The great guns which we told you *Montroſe* had hid in the ground the laſt year, they digging them up without his knowledge, carried away in a kinde of triumph, and diſpoſed of them in their owne Caſtles as if they had been ſpoiles taken from the enemy, and would not reſtore them upon demand. But thoſe *Montroſe* had got in the fights at *Saint John's towne* and at *Aberdene*; in the former of which there was never a man preſent of that Family, and in the other *Lewis Gordon* and his men fought on the enemies ſide. Beſides they ſo converted unto their owne uſe the Gunpowder, and Arms, and other neceſſaries of War, which were gained from the enemy, and only depoſited in their Caſtles as in ſafe and convenient ſtore-houſes, that they would never make any reſtitution of the leaſt part of them when they were deſired. Moreover *Abone* upon his returne home after the victory of *Kilſyth* ſet at liberty the Earle of *Keith* Lord Maſhall of *Scotland*, the Lord Viſcount *Arbuthnot*, and other men of quality of the enemies ſide who were within his cuſtody, without acquainting the Governour of the Kingdome; and his brother-in-law young *Drumme* (who by chance was preſent) earneſtly declaring his diſlike of it. Vpon what termes he did it, it is uncertain, but this is evident, that (ſibes the affront done to the Lord Governour, and the loſſe of *Dunottar Caſtle*, which was of great ſtrength and concernment in that Warre, and other Military advantages they got by it) the Rebels would never have had the boldneſſe to ſall ſo cruelly upon the Priſoners, if he had but kept them in ſafe cuſtody. Yet more, by his owne private authority, he exacted Tributes, and Cuſtomes, and Taxes, (which the Governour himſelf had never done) upon pretence indeed of maintaining the War, but in truth to ſar other uſes and to the grievous prejudice of the Kings Cauſe. Laſt of all (which is moſt to be lamented) either at the intreaty of the enemy, or for ſmall ſums of money, they had enlarged the priſoners that had been taken in the former

former battells in the North, and committed to custody in their Castles. Nor would they permit them to *Montroses* disposall, though being prisoners of Warre he had reserved them for that only purpose, by exchanging them to save the lives of gallant and deserving men. *Huntley* being pricked in his conscience about all these things, was alwayes as afraid of *Montroses* presence as of a Pest-house.

BUT *Montrose* for all that, passing by injuries, and laying aside all other matters, bestowed his whole endeavours in the promoting of the Kings service. And to that end he was resolved to intrude himself into his company though never so unwelcome, to insinuate into his friendship upon any conditions, to yeeld unto him in all things, and to deny nothing so that he might qualifie *Huntleys* imbitter'd spirit. Therefore leaving his Forces in their quarters, he posted early in the morning with a few Horse unto *Bogie*, and by his undream't of approach prevented *Huntley* of any opportunity of flying or hiding himself. As soon as they met, *Montrose* forgetting all that was past, invited him in smooth and gentle language to associate with him in the War for the safety of the King and Kingdome: and gave him so full satisfaction in all things, that as being at last overcome he seem'd to give him his hand. And promised that not only all his men, but he himself would come in person in the head of them, and be with him with all possible speed. Afterward they laid their heads together concerning the manner of managing the War, and agreed that *Huntley* waisting over the *Spey*, should make his way on the right hand by the sea coast of *Murray*, and *Montrose* was to go round about on the left hand through *Strath-Spey*, which was at that time of the year a very tedious and difficult march; and so the design was to besiege *Inverness*, a garrison of the enemies, on both sides: and in the mean time to draw the Earl of *Seaforth* either by faire means or foule to their side. That Garrison however it might appeare to be otherwise strong and well fortified, yet was very ill provided for victuall and other requisites, which in that sharp Winter and tempestuous Sea could hardly be had. And so now they seem'd to be agreed in all things, so that *Aboine* and his brother *Lewis* with't damnation to themselves if they did not continue constant in their fidelity and service to *Montrose* to their utmost breath. And the rest of the *Gordons*, the *Marquesses* friends, were surpris'd with incredible joy, and made as much of their Lord and Chief, as if he had been returned from the dead.



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## C H A P. XIX.

**M**ontrose supposing *Huntleys* spirit at last pacified, and seriously inclined to joyne with him in the prosecution of the Warre, marched with his Forces through *Strath-Spey* towards *Inverness*. And the more to amuse the enemy on every side, he sent his colen *Patrick Graham* (of whose worth I have had often occasion to speak) and *John Drummond* of *Ball* the younger (a gentleman of approved trust and valour, who had often done excellent service) with authority and Commissions unto the *Athole-men*, that if any should offer to stirre in those parts they should neglect no opportunity to suppress them. The *Athole-men* being encouraged by their authority and example, shewed themselves very ready and cheartull: And they wanted not long an occasion to shew it, for the remainder of the *Argyllian* party (either by reason of a generall scarcity of all things in their own Country, or being driven out of their Country for fear of *Macdonell*, who was very strong, and threatned their ruine) fell upon the *Macgregories* and *Macnabies* who sided with *Montrose*. And afterward joyning unto themselves the *Sinners* which inhabite *Balwidair*, and the *Menises* and other Highlanders who still followed *Argyles* fortune, were reported to make up some fifteen hundred men; and were ready to invade *Athole* unless timely opposed. And truly they had already fired an Iland in *Loch-Lorchet* after they had taken it by force and pillaged it, and had besieged *Ample* Castle which lyeth on the side of the river of that name. Which as soon as they had intelligence of, the *Athole-men*, being only seven hundred in all, under the Command of the aforesaid *Graham* and *Drummond*, thought best to oppose them before they brake in into their Country. They upon the alarme of the advance of the *Athole-men* raised the siege of *Ample* and retreated toward *Taich*. The *Athole-men* pursued them hotly, and finde them in battell-array not farre from *Kalendar* a Castle of *Taich*. For they had possessed a ford, and manned the bank on the other side (which was fortified with a steep hill) with a number of musquetiers. Which when the *Athole-men* saw, and perceived that their Forces were not so strong as was reported (for they had not above twelve hundred men) although they themselves were scarce seven hundred strong, yet being heartned by the gallantry and encouragement of their Commanders, they were resolved not to stay to receive the enemies charge, but to charge them. Therefore they place a hundred

dred good souldiers over against the enemy, as it were to make good the Ford on the other side, and the rest marched away unto another Ford near the Castle, that they might get over the river there. The *Argylians* when they perceived the *Athole-men* so resolute, retreat straight towards *Sterling*. Then first of all those *Athole-men* that were left below at the Ford, possesse themselves of the bank which the enemy had quit, after that they fall upon the Rear of the retreaters, cut off some, scatter others, drive others forward; and the rest of the *Athole-men* following hard after, put them all to flight. Fourscore of them were slain, the rest escaped by flight: who fared the better because that same morning the *Athole-men* had had a foule and tedious march of ten miles long, and had no Horse at all to help themselves. So they having come off with credit returned home.

At that time the Rebels held their Convention of Estates at *Saint Andrews*, which they polluted with the Innocent and I feare crying blood of men never sufficiently to be commended. They had amongst their prisoners some very eminent men, as appeared by the hatred the Rebels bare them, (for they scarce sought the blood of any but the best of men, but for others of whom they were not so much affraid, they satisfied themselves only with their Sequestration and Plunder,) amongst whom were the Lord *Ogleby*, Sir *William Spotswood*, *William Murray* a noble young Gentleman, and *Andrew Guthery* a stout Gentleman and an active, whom they determined to put to death in that City, to appease the Ghosts of the men of that Province with their blood, of whom it is reported above five thousand had been slain in severall battels. Now, because they intended not to proceed against them by Law, but according to their own lusts, they have recourse to their old shifts, and make Religion draw the curtaine over their cruelty. To which purpose they set up their Prophets *Kant* and *Blair*, and others that were possessed with the same spirit, who roar'd out their Pulpits bloody Oracles before the people; *That God required the blood of those men, nor could the sin of the Nation be otherwise expiated, or the revenge of heaven diverted.* And by this art especially they provoked the hearts of the people (otherwise inclined to pity) to thinke upon them as accursed things, and own'd and devoted to destruction; perswading them that they ought to have no protection of humane Lawes, nor any Advocate to plead for them whom God himself indited and accus'd. Nor did those excellent Interpreters and deciders of Gods secret will make any scruple to sentence the soules, and bodies, and all of so great Delinquents unto hell and damnation. And

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having by this means blinded the people, it was easie for them who were their accusers and judges both, to condemne the innocent men who were destitute of all patronage and protection.

But *Ogleby*, who was not onely the most eminent of them for Nobility and power, but also was a *Hamilton* by his mothers side, and couzen-german to *Lindsey*, pretending himself sick, with much adoe got so much favour as to have his mother, wife, and sisters suffered to visite him in prison. Which when he had obtain'd, whilst his keepers in reverence to the honourable Ladies, withdrew out of his chamber, he immediately puts on his sisters gowne which she had put off, and was dressed in all her attire. She also put on his cap in which he used to lie sick in bed, and lay down instead of her brother. At last many salutations and some tears passing on both sides, at eight of the clock in the night, in the habite and likenesse of his sister he deceived his keepers, who lighted him out with candles and torches. And immediately departing the City, he took horse (which he had laid for him) with two of his followers, and before morning was got out of danger. But when the next day his observant keepers had found out their mistake, *Argyle* was so unable to contraine his wrath and revenge, that he would needs have the noble Ladies (and the more noble for this their compassion and adventure) brought in question for it. But he could not effect it, for by reason of the equity of their cause, they found much stronger friends then he could, of the *Hamiltons* and *Lindsey*; by whose connivence it is conceived by many that all this Comedy was acted; but in a thing that is uncertaine I shall determine nothing.

This cleanly conveyance of *Ogleby* out of their hands vext the Rebels exceedingly, and made them almost wilde; whence it happened that they made a quick dispatch of the rest. And the first that suffered was Colonell *Nathaniell Gordon*, a man of excellent endowments, both of body and minde. Who being near unto his death, bitterly lamented with many tears that the carriage of his youth had been much otherwise then it ought to have been. And when being ready to die, they offered him an Instrument to signe, wherein he was to testifie his repentance, he subscribed it without any more adoe; and withall call'd God, and his Angels, and the men there present to witnesse, that if any thing was contained in that paper which was contrary to the King, his Crown, or authority, he utterly disavowed it. Then being absolved from the sentence of Excommunication under which he lay for adultery long since committed, to the great grief of the beholders he laid down his neck upon the block. A man subject indeed

indeed to that fault, but famous for his valour and souldiership both in forraign Countries and at home.

The next that was brought upon the Scaffold yet reeking with the blood of *Colonell Gordon*, was a man worthy of everlasting memory, *Sir Robert Spotswood*, one rais'd by the favour of *King James* and *King Charles* unto great honours, as his singular vertues did merit. *King James* made him a Knight, and a privy Counsellor: *King Charles* advanced him to be Lord President of the Session, and now but of late Principall Secretary of *Scotland*. This excellent man (although his very enemies had nothing to lay to his charge through all his life) they found guilty of high Treason; which is yet the more to be lamented, because he never bore armes against them; for his eminency lay in the way of peace, not knowing what belong'd to drawing of a sword. This was therefore the onely charge that they laid against him; That by the Kings command he brought his Letters Patents unto *Montrose*, whereby he was made Vice-roy of the Kingdome, and General of the Army. Neverthelesse he proved at large that he had done nothing in that, but according to the custom of their Ancestors, and the Lawes of the Land. And truly he seem'd in his most elegant Defence to have given satisfaction to all men except his judges, (whom the Rebels had pick't out from amongst his most malicious enemies that sought his death,) so that questionlesse they would never have pronounc'd that dolefull sentence, if they had but the least tincture of justice or honesty. But to speak the truth, a more powerfull envy then his Innocency was able to struggle with undid the good man; For the Earl of *Lanerick* having been heretofore Principall Secretary of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, by his revolt unto the Rebels forced the most gracious and bountifull King to the whole family of the *Hamiltons*, to take that Office from so unthankfull a man and bestow it on another: nor was there any one found more worthy then *Spotswood* to be advanced to so high an honour. And hence happened that great weight of envy and revenge to be thrown upon him, which seeing he was not able to bear out, he was forced to fall under.

And now *Spotswood* being about to die, abating nothing of his wonted constancy and gravity, according to the custome of the Country made a Speech unto the people. But that Sacrilegious thief *Blair*, who stood by him upon the Scaffold against his will, fearing the eloquence and undauntednesse of so gallant a man, lest the mysteries of Rebellion should be discovered (by one of his gravity and authority)



unto the people, (who use most attentively to hear, and tenaciously to remember the words of dying men) procured the Provost of the City (who had been once a servant to *Spotswoods* father) to stop his mouth. Which insolent, and more then ordinary discourtesie, he took no notice of; but letting his Speech unto the people alone, he wholly bestowed himself in devotions and prayers to Almighty God. Being interrupted againe, and that very importunately, by that busie and troublefom fellow *Blair*, and asked, *Whether he would not have him and the p.ople to pray for the salvation of his soule?* He made answer, *That he desired the Prayers of the people, but his for impious Prayers which were abominable unto God, he desir'd not to trouble him.* And added moreover, *That of all the plagues with which the offended Majesty of God had scourged that Nation, this was much the greatest (greater then the Sword, or Fire, or Pestilence) that for the sins of the people, God had sent a lying Spirit into the mouth of the Prophets.* With which free and undeniable saying, *Blair* finding himself galled, grew so extremely in passion, that he could not hold from scurrilous and contumelious language against his father who had been long dead; and against himself who was now a dying; approving himself a fine Preacher of Christian patience and Longanimity the while. But all these things *Spotswood* having his minde fixed upon higher matters, pass'd by with silence and unmoved. At last being undaunted, and shewing no alteration neither in his voyce nor countenance, when he laid down his neck to the fatall stroke, these were his last words, *Mercifull Jesu, gather my soule unto thy Saints and Martyrs who have run before me in this race.* And certainly seeing Martyrdome may be undergone not only for the Confession of our Faith, but for any vertue by which holy men make their Faith manifest; there is no doubt but he hath received that Crown.

And this was the end (a dolefull end indeed in regard of us, but a joyfull and honourable one in him;) of a man admirable for his knowledge of things Divine and Humane; for his skill in the Tongues, *Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriack, Arabick*, besides the Western Languages; for his knowledge in History, Law, and Politiques; the Honour and Ornament of his Country and our Age for the integrity of his life, for his Fidelity, for his Justice, for his Constancy; a man of an even temper and ever agreeing with himself; whose Youth had no need to be ashamed of his Child-hood, nor his riper years of his Youth; a severe observer of the old-fashion'd piety with all his soule, and yet one that was no vain and superstitious Professour of it before others;



a man easie to be made a friend, and very hard to be made an enemy; and who being now dead, was exceedingly lamented even by many Covenanters. His breathlesse body *Hugh Scrimiger* once his fathers servant took care to bring forth, as the times would permit, with a private funerall. Nor was he long able to bear so great a sorrow and losse; for after a few dayes espying that bloody Scaffold not yet removed out of the place, immediately he fell into a swoon, and being carried home by his servants and neighbours, died as his very door.

Lastly, they give unto *Spotswood* another companion in death, *Andrew Gutherie* son unto the most deserving Bishop of *Murray*, and hated the more by the Rebels for that. A youth as well valiant in battell, as constant in suffering and contemning death. He also was threatned and rail'd at by the same *Blair*, but answered, That no greater honour could have be done him, then to be put to an honest death in the behalfe of so good a King, and so just a Cause; which those that were present should see he embraced without fear, and perhaps another generation would not report without praise. For his sins he humbly begged mercy and forgiveness at the hands of his most gracious Lord God; but for that for which he stood there condemned, he was not much troubled. After this manner died with constancy and courage a man who if Almighty God had so thought fit had been worthy of a longer life.

And that now they might put the last Scene to a Tragedy of which most part was acted, after two dayes breathing they brought forth *William Murray*, brother to the Earl of *Tullibardin*, a young Gentleman, to the same place. And truly every man much admired, that his brother being in great favour and esteeme amongst the Covenanters, had not interceded for the life and safety of his own onely brother. Some imputed it to his sloth, others to his coverousnesse, as gaping after his brothers estate, others to his stupid and superstitious zeale to the Cause; but even all, the very Covenanters themselves, condemned his silence in such a case as dishonourable, and misbecoming a Noble spirit. But the Youth himself, being not above nineteen years old, purchased unto himself everlasting renown with posterity for so honest and honourable an end. Amongst those few things which he spake to the people, those that heard him told me these words, which he spake with a higher voyce then the rest; Account (O my Countymen) that a new and high addition of honour is this day archieived to the house of *Tullibardin* and the whole Nation of the *Murrays*, that a young man descended of that ancient stock, willingly and chearfully delivered up his innocent soule (as unto men) in the very  
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*flower of his youth, for his King, the Father of his Country, and the most munificent Patron of our Family. Nor let my most honoured mother, my dear sisters, my kindred, or any of my friends be sorry for the shortness of my life, which is abundantly recompensed with the honourableness of my death. Pray for my soule, and God be with you.*

## CHAP. XX.

**T**He death of his friends troubled *Montrose* exceedingly, as it had reason; but yet it was not able to break or shake his firm and settled resolution. Nor did his noble and more then ordinarily elevated spirit ever give greater evidences of it self then now. For there were many who being enraged with the unworthy murder of their friends egg'd him on being already sufficiently discontented, to a present revenge. And whiles they too much favoured their grief (although it was just) and seem'd to desire nothing but what was fit, to wit, to render them like for like, they wearied out the Generall with their many, and troublesome, and unseasonable complaints. For they must needs be angry, that their companions, their friends, their kindred, noble and gallant Gentlemen, well deserving of their King, their Country, and the Generall himself, should be murder'd contrary to their faith promised them, the custome of war, the Law of the Land, of Nations, and of Nature, and all unreveng'd: and on the other side, such Rebels as had been taken by him to be kept rather as in their friends houses then in prison, to rejoyce, to triumph, to laugh at their sorrow: And therefore they humbly desired such prisoners might be tryed as Malefactors; nor would the enemy be otherwise frightened from their unheard of cruelty, nor the minds of his own men otherwise satisfied and raised up. Whom he entertained with a courteous Speech, commended them for the love they bare their friends, and told them, *That the blood of those honourable and innocent Subjects ought to be reveng'd indeed, but such a way as became honest and valiant men; not by baseness and mischief as the Rebels doe, but by true valour, in a souldier-like way. It concerned them so to tame, as not to imitate the wickedness of their enemies. Nor, if they considered matters well, was it conscience, that those that were prisoners with them, and so could not be accessory unto the murder of their friends, should suffer for those sins of which they were innocent. The faith that they had passed unto them was a most sacred thing, and to be kept inviolate even by enemies. Why should they make themselves guilty of that which they*

so

so much abhorred in their enemies? The time would come when they must give a severe account of it unto the most righteous God, and to his Vice-gerent the King. In the meane time (saith he) let them set a price upon our heads, let them hire Assassines, let them send in their instruments amongst us to murder us, let them make promises and breake them, yet they shall never effect that we shall contend with them in an emulation which shall be worse, or any otherwise then upon honourable and virtuous termes.

Now *Huntley*, who intended nothing lesse then what he promised *Montrose* before his face, having passed over the *Spey*, and entred into *Murray*, trifled away his time, and wasted his strength without either honour or profit, a good way off *Inverness*. For giving his minde too much to prey and spoile, after he had wasted the Country, he heard a flying report that the inhabitants had hid their gold and silver, and the best of their stuffe in certaine turrets and obicure Castles. Which whiles he assaults in vaine, and could neither by commands, nor intreaties be taken off from his resolution, the enemy sending in provision on that side which he had undertaken to block up, relieved *Inverness* with all things that they wanted. Which if he had hindered, as he undertook unto *Montrose*, the Garrison would have been shortly forced to yeeld. And *Montrose* having now received intelligence that Major Generall *Middleton* was come with six hundred Horse and eight hundred Foot as far as *Aberdene*, and was like to lay waste *Huntleys* and the *Gordons* Country, sent Colonell *William Stuart* unto *Huntley*, to entreat him to return again unto the siege of *Inverness* according to his engagement: Of if he did not approve so well of that, because the enemy was advanced so near his Territories, he should perswade him to joyn his Forces with his, and to march immediately towards the enemy, whom he doubted not with an easie hazard to overthrow. To which he answered scornfully, that he would look to his own businesse himself, nor did he need the help and assistance of *Montrose* to drive the enemy out of his borders. At last after ten weeks spent in the siege of a small inconsiderable Castle, and the losse of all the forwardest of his men, he was forced with dishonour to raise the siege, when he was never the nearer. And in contempt not so much of *Montrose*, as of the Kings Majesty, he retreated to the *Spey* without the consent or Knowledge of the Vice-roy: giving thereby a very bad example to all men, who began to come in thick and three-fold with great eagernes unto the Kings party.

Amongst whom the chieftest for wealth and power, and multitudes

of

of followers and dependants were the Earl of *Seaford*, the Lord *Rife*, and from the farthest Islands Sir *James Mac-donell*, Chief of a most powerfull and ancient family in the Highlands; *Macklen* also and *Glengar* the Captain of the *Mac-Renalds*, (and many more) who were some of them already in *Montrose's* Army with their Forces, others had sent for theirs. And by this means before the end of *March*, *Montrose* might have fallen down into the Low-lands with a farre greater Army then ever the *Scots* produc't in the memory of man. But the unexpected revolt of so great a personage did not lesse encourage the Rebels to persevere in their course, then scandalize and discourage honest and loyall hearts. Whence it happened that those whose men were already come up to the Army began to draw off, and steal away privately, and others to make excuses for their delay. All which put together made *Montrose* to cast about another way. For he resolved (seeing he could doe no good with vain, light, wavering and inconsistent men by gentlenesse and good offices) to reduce them to his obedience by his authority backed with the strength of armes and severe penalties; and to that end to force all the Highlanders and North-countrimen, to take up armes, by marching in amongst them with a confiding party of good souldiers. For he well knew that many Governours and leading men in their respective Countries, and Chiefs of Septs were of his side, unto whom this course would be very acceptable. Nor did he question but the chief and most powerfull of the *Gordons* being weary of their Lords miscarriage, would doe him the best service they could if need was, though it ran counter unto *Huntleys* designe. However he was resolved to use all fair means, if that would doe, before he would put them to the cost of that last and sharpest remedy.

But because *Inverness* was the most considerable garrison of all the North, and the haven there most commodious for intertaining forraigne Forces, he desired nothing more then to reduce that: therefore he surrounded it with the Forces he had. For the enemies Army under the Command of *Middleton* was above fourscore miles off, and *Huntley* and the *Gordons* lay half way between them in a body. Therefore *Montrose* dealt again with *Huntley* to perswade him not to lose his time, but (as they had agreed) to joyne with him in the siege of *Inverness*; or at least to hover about the *Spy*, over which the enemy was to passe, and to hinder their passage if they advanced to raise the siege; and if they chanced to get over to joyn their Forces together and fight them. To all which he answered so disdainfully, that the Vice-roy

roy thought it high time to despair of any good from him, and conceived himself engaged to look better to himself lest at last he should betray him. So that putting no confidence in *Huntley*, he sent back three Troops of Horse to lie at the Fords of the *Spey*, to observe the motion of the enemy; and if they came, to send him often and certain intelligence. And they, quartering themselves in the most advantageous places for scouting, were carefull enough to observe his commands; untill *Lewis Gordon*, *Huntley's* son, who then commanded the Castle of *Rothies*, plaid a more shamefull prank then any he ever did before. He assured those Captains of Horse whom *Montrose* had set to guard the Fords of the *Spey*, that the enemy lay very far off, and intended nothing lesse then to passe that river and raise the siege; and therefore he perswaded them (who took him for a most faithfull friend) to let alone their needlesse guards (to which they had been appointed) and to come to his Castle to refresh themselves; and with many complements invited them to a feast which he had provided for them: and they had no more wit then to trust him, and go. He entertained them with a huge deal of courtesie, and besides very dainty cheer plyed them with good store of wine and strong waters. And with a great deal of jollity, and ceremonious courtesie, detain'd them so long till *Middleton* with a great Army of Horse and Foot had got over the *Spey*, and had gotten footing in *Murray*. Which as soon as he had notice of, he at length dismitt them, and that with these jeering termes; *Go now to your Generall Montrose, who will have a sharper bout now then he had at Selkirk.* Meane time the enemy march straight and eagerly towards *Montrose*, and those Horse getting past them with much ado, came not much before them to *Inverness*, inso much as they seem'd to be but the Van of the enemy, and *Middletons* whole Army followed within cannon shot. But, as the providence of God would have it, *Montrose* had notice of their approach another way, and having drawn off his Forces a little way from the Town, had got them all into a body. And when he perceiv'd the enemy to be much too strong for him in Horse, avoiding the plain, he retreated with his men beyond the *Nesse*. The enemy falling upon his Rear, and being handiomey repuls'd, kept themselves also close. The losse on both sides was very little, and almost equal. *Montrose* passed by *Bewly* into *Rosse*, whither the enemy pursued him, that taking him in the champain ground which was disadvantageous to him, they might compell him to fight whether he would or no. But besides that the enemy was much stronger then he, the Country people being faithlesse and rotten, and *Stasfords* new raised men running away



by companies from their colours, moved him with all the speed he could to save himself from the enemies Horse. Therefore passing by *Logh-Nesse*, and through *Strath-Glasse*, and *Harrage*, he advanced unto the bank of the *Spy*.

*Montrose* was resolved to proceed against *Huntley* as a publick enemy, unless he repented; but would try all fair means first, to see whether it was possible to bring him into a better minde. To which end taking with him only one Troop of Horse for his life-guard, in all speed he rid twenty miles unto him to his Castle at *Bogy*. And as he was on his way, he sent one before to give him notice of his approach; and to tell him that he came thither alone and without his Forces, to no other end then to kisse his hand, and to be advised by him concerning such things as concerned the Kings service; and he was the more earnest to speak with him, because he had newly received letters from the King from *Oxford*, which he would let him see. But *Huntley* being affrighted with the first news of *Montroses* approach, was so averse from the presence of so gallant a man that in a trice he leapt on horse back, and with one man along with him, ran away any way he ear'd not whither; nor vouchsafed the Kings Viceroy the favour of a conference or entertainment. Which as soon as *Montrose* understood, he returned back those twenty miles the same day being the 27 of *May*; and was as carefull as he could possibly to conceal this frowardnesse and unreasonnesse of *Huntleys*, lest it should be a bad president. But all would not do, for the *Gordons* themselves and others of *Huntleys* friends, being most of them very honest men and complete Gentlemen, told all with a great deal of indignation, and detestation of *Huntley*; that by that means they might acquit themselves from the aspersions of so unworthy an act.

Nor can one easily say how great influence that mans example had upon other Northern men: The Earl of *Seaford*, who had been but lately, and with much adoe reconciled to the Kings side, was conceived to begin to falter; and some say that being still unsettled, he had then underhand dealings for the making of his peace with the Covenanters, which truly I can hardly believe. And *Alexander Mac-donell* himself, pretending I know not what, although he had had often and serious invitations, made nothing but sleevesse excuses and put-offs from day to day. Which carriage of his gave occasion of strange reports of him, as if he, although he was a bitter enemy to *Argyle*, yet had great correspondence with, and relations unto the *Hamiltons*; and therefore staid at home, and looked only upon the preservation of the *Mac-donells*, not meddling with publique affaires. Which when *Montrose* con-



considered, he resolved without further delay to make his progresse over all the North country and Highlands with a considerable party, to lift souldiers, to encourage the well disposed, to reduce those that were refractory by the severity of the Lawes and condigne punishment; and to deal with them as men use to do with sick children, make them take physick whether they will or no. And he wanted not fitting instruments to promote this designe, who had earnestly laboured with him to take that course.

While these things passed at *Inverness*, *Huntley*, lest he should be thought never to have done any thing by his own conduct without the assistance of *Montrose*, besieged and took in *Aberdene*, (which *Middleton* kept with five hundred men) but with more losse to *Huntley* himself then to the enemy. For, besides the losse of many valiant souldiers, he gave his Highlanders leave to pillage to City. But what fault those poore innocent *Aberdene* men had made either against the King or *Huntley* let them judge, who know that almost all of them were eminent and observed for their loyalty. But for the enemy whom he took in Armes, who were both many, and of very good account amongst their own party, he dismiss them freely without any conditions, and look't sawningly upon them, rather like a Petitioner then a Conquerour. Nor when he had many Colonels, Knights, and others of quality (who by chance were found in *Aberdene*) in his hands, did he so much as think of exchanging any one of his owne friends for them, many of whom were prisoners either in *Scotland* or *England*. But this was his humour, being alwayes more ready to doe good for his enemies then his friends.

## CHAP. XXI:

**M***Ontrose* being busie about his designe, on the last of *May* there came unto him a Herald with Commands from the King, (who by I know not what misfortune had cast himself upon the Scotch Covenanters Army at *Newcastle*) whereby he was required forthwith to lay down his armes and di. band, and to depart into *France*, and there to waite his Majesties further pleasure. He being astonished with this unexpected message, bitterly bewailed the sad condition of the King, that had forced him to cast himself upon the mercy of his most deadly enemies. And doubted not but that that command which was given him for disbanding was extorted from him by the craft, or force, or threats of the Rebels into whose hands he had fallen. But what should he do in that case? If he obeyed he must give over the estates of his friends

to plunder and their lives to death; and if he stood in arms against the Kings command, he should be guilty of that crime he undertook to scourge in others, Rebellion. And especially he was afraid lest the Rebels should put his actions upon the Kings account, and use him the worse for them, seeing they had him in their power: of which the King had given him a fair hint in his letter.

Therefore *Montrose* resolv'd to call together all the Noblemen, and Chiefs of Septs, and Knights, and others of quality that were of his side; that a matter of that consequence which concern'd them all might be discuss'd by generall consent. To which end, after he had receiv'd so many injuries from him, he dispatcheth Sir *John Hurrey* and Sir *John Innes*, being men of greatest account in his Army, and (as he conceived) most in *Huntleys* favour, unto him to desire him to be present at that so serious Consultation and referr'd unto him the appointment of the time and place. And to tell him moreover, that *Montrose* was willing to come to his Castle if he thought fit. *Huntley* answer'd, That the King had sent him letters also to the same effect, which he was resolv'd to obey; that the Kings commands were of that nature as not to admit of second thoughts, and after them nothing was left for consultation. When they reply'd, that that likely was *Montroses* opinion too, and that he was as ready as any other to give obedience to the Kings Commands, if they were not forced; however it concern'd them all to provide in time for the safety of them and theirs. And that the credit and authority of what they resolv'd upon would be greater, even in the opinion of the enemies themselves, if they made a joyn't and unanimous resolution. He made no other answer then that he had resolv'd for himself, and would have nothing to doe with any body else.

*Montrose* therefore sends his answer to the King by letters, wherein he was very inquisitive of the condition he was in amongst the Covenanters, and whether he conceiv'd himself safe in their hands? and also whether his service could be beneficiall unto him any further? And, if he was fully determin'd to have that Army disbanded which fought for him (whiles the enemy in both Kingdomes were in a military posture, and crow'd over them more and more) what course should be taken for the security of the lives and fortunes of his most gallant and faithfull Subjects, who had spent their blood and all that was deare unto them for his sake? For it was a lamentable case if so excellent men should be left to the mercy of them that had none, not only to be undone but to be murdered. To this he received no open answer, besides some Articles which the messenger brought which were signed by the Rebels, with which *Montrose* was to be content.

But

But he in great anger rejected those conditions which the enemy had made, being so unconscionable as they were; and not vouchsafing so much as to treat with the enemy, sent back the bearer to the King, professing that as he had not taken up armes but by the Kings Commission, so he would have no condition prescribed him to lay them down by any mortall man but the King himself. Therefore he humbly besought the King (if he thought it fit that he should disband his Army) that he would not think much to make and signe the conditions himself; to which though they prov'd perhaps very harsh, he promised absolutely to submit, but he scorn'd the Commands of any one else whosoever they were.

The messenger returning, at last brought with him Articles signed by the Kings hand, with Injunctions now the third time, wherein he was required to disband without further delay; and the same messenger charged him in the Kings name, under pain of high Treason, to give obedience forthwith unto the Kings Command. And besides his Majesties pleasure there was another thing which hastened him, which was, that those that had engaged with him had most of them privately and by their friends laboured to make their peace with the Rebels; which was evidently known by good tokens of the Earl of Scaford and others. As for *Huntley* and *Aboine* they did not only profess themselves open enemies to *Montrose*, but also threatned to fall upon him by force of armes, if he did not immediately submit to the Kings authority. And *Antrim* being newly arrived out of *Ireland* in the Highlands without either men or arms busied himself to draw away all the Highlanders, as his kindred and allies to himself from *Montroses* Army, whom in scorn he call'd the *Government of the Low-lands* making by this means an unreasonable faction, and a pernicious one to his friends in those parts. All which *Montrose* having well considered, he was forced according to the Kings Command to disband his Army.

And truly that was a most sad day, in which having solemnly praised and encourag'd his souldiers (as well as the occasion permitted) he took his leave of them. For although he bid them to be of good comfort however, and told them he saw some day light of a blessed peace, and that he did as much service to the King by his present submission, as he had done before by his Martiall achievements. Yet notwithstanding they all conceiv'd that that was the last day of the Kings Authority in *Scotland*, and all of them beleev'd for certaine, that those Commands from the King were wrested from him upon the apprehension of greater dangers to his person if he had not given them. And although some provision had been made by Articles in writing for their Indemnity,

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yet they had rather have undergone the worst that could fall, then survive idle and unserviceable spectators of the miserable condition of their dearest King. And it was no little vexation to those generous spirits, to think what an unworthy opinion forraign Nations and their own posterity must needs have of them, as if all the Scottish Nation had been unanimously guilty of Rebellion and desertion of so good a King. Besides, their sorrow was much augmented with the consideration that their Generall, who was most valiant, most successfull, and therefore most beloved, should be taken off so unhappily from the King, from his Country, from themselves, and all good men. So that his souldiers falling down at his feet, entreated him with tears in their eyes, that seeing the safety of the Kings person depended so much upon it, and he must of necessity depart the Kingdom, he would be pleased to take them along with him into what part of the world soever he went. Professing their readinesse to live and fight any where under his command, and (if God would have it so) to die too. And truly many of them were resolved, though to the certain hazard of their lives and estates, to follow him even against his will and knowledge, and to offer him that service in an unknown land that they were able to afford him no longer in their miserable Country.

By the Articles to which the King had consented according to the desires of the Covenanters it was especially provided, that *Montrose* should depart *Scotland* before the first of *September*, and that they should finde him shipping, with provision and all things necessary when he went. These things were transacted the first of *August*, and a Port in *Angus* designed for *Montrose* whither they were to send shipping from whence he was to imbarke. And *Montrose* to prevent and remove all occasions of exception or suspicion, being accompanied only with his own servants and a very few friends, betook himself thither, and waited for the shipping. About this time his most implacable enemies set abroad caltity and feigned reports by their fit instruments, wherein they confidently averred, that the *States of the Kingdome* (as they call'd themselves) would by no means suffer that so gallant a Subject should be banished the Country: For they knew not how great need they might have of a man of his worth, especially if the King who had cast himself freely upon the affections of the Scots could not get any right of the English, but should be put to seek it by force and armes; and if it came to that, no age had afforded a better Generall then *Montrose*. And truly that was the earnest desire and expectation of most men, who were not able to dive into the bottom of the Rebels plots, but they had farre other designs in hand, and another game to play. For what their thoughts were



were towards the King, the sad event made too manifest, and for *Montrose*, they laid very unconscionable and unworthy traps to catch him. For they did this, that if they could flatter him up with such vain hopes, and entice him to stay in the Kingdome beyond his time appointed, they might take hold of him upon the Articles, and cut him off with more credit.

*August* was almost spent and no news at all was to be had about the shipping or safe conduct: therefore *Montrose*, (although he was resolved to be gone by the day the King had limited) that he might the more fully grope the intentions of the Covenanters, gave leave to some of his friends to deale with them for further time. But when they brought him nought but uncertain and doubtfull answers, he had reason to think they intended nothing but to delude and intrap him. Besides (which made his suspicion so much the greater) there came a ship upon the very last day allowed for his stay (to wit, on the last of *August*) into the haven of *Montrose*. The master of it was not only a stranger to him, but a most rude and violent abettor of the Rebels; the Seamen and Souldiers men of the same temper, malicious dogged, and ill-condition'd; the ship it self neither victualled, nor fit to goe to sea. So that when *Montrose* shew'd himself ready to depart, and bad them hoise their sailes assoon as they could, the Master of the ship told him that he must have some dayes allowed him to pitch and rigge his ship, before he durst adventure himself to the winde and waves. And then making great brags of himself and his ship, he drew forth a Commission which the Covenanters had given him, wherein he was required to transport the passengers to certain places assigned by themselves, and to carry no body else. Moreover there lay great English ships and men of war every day in sight about the mouth of the river of *Esk* (which makes the haven of *Montrose*) attending there in favour of the Rebels for their much desired booty, that by no means he might escape their hands.

But *Montrose* had sufficient notice of these treacheries, and wanted not some friends of the Covenanters themselves, who informed him by frequent messages that the Sea was sore pester'd with the English Navy, and he could not escape safely either into *France* or the *Low-Countries*; that the haven was upon the matter block't up in which he was to take shipping, and therefore it was very perillous for him to go to sea; that his enemies look't for nothing else, then that either by making too long stay in his own Country he should fall into the hands of the Scottish Covenanters, or by going he should be surpris'd unarm'd and unawares by the English Rebels. *Montroses* Friends that  
were

were with him were of opinion, that it was best for him in so apparent a danger to return into the Highlands, and draw his men together again, conceiving that he had better trust the fortune of war than so perfidious a peace. But he forbore to take that course, especially because of his most ardent affection to the King: For he was assured if the war brake forth again it would be laid upon the King though undeservedly, and so he should bring his Person into present danger perhaps as much as his life was worth. Therefore being straightened on every side, one way with treachery plotted against his owne, another against the Kings anointed head, he determined with an unalterable resolution to bear all the burden upon his own shoulders. And therefore he withdrew himself not out of rashness as if he despair'd of safety at the worst, but out of sage and discrete deliberation.

For when he had smelt out the plots of the Rebels before-hand, he had sent some a good while agoe to search diligently the havens in the North, and if they chanced to finde any outlandish-vessell to agree with the Master for the freight, and to appoint him to be ready to put to sea at such a day, and to transport the passengers (which should be ready with him) by the help of God into *Norway*. By good fortune there was found in the haven of *Stanhysve* a small bark of *Bergen* in *Norway*, and the Master was soon agreed with, for he was very glad of the opportunity, having hopes of getting. Thither *Montrose* sent away Sir *John Hurvey*, *John Drummond* of *Ball*, *Henry Graham* his brother, *John Spotswood* nephew to that great Sir *Robert*, *John Lily*, a Captain of approved skill and courage, *Patrick Melvin* such another, *George Wiseheart* Doctor of Divinity, *David Guheray* a stout young Gentleman, *Pardus Lafound* a French-man, once a servant to the noble Lord *Gordon*, afterwards entertained for his Matters sake by *Montrose* himself, one *Rodolph* a German, an honest and trusty young man; and a few servants more. And these he had pick't out to carry along with him whither soever he went, for this reason especially, because he knew the Rebels to be so maliciously bent against most of them, that they could not be safe for never so little a while in that Country. And they on the third of *September* having a good winde put forth to sea for *Norway*; And the same evening *Montrose* himself, accompanied only with one *James Wood* a worthy Preacher, by a small cock-bo't got into a bark which lay at anchor without the haven of *Montrose*; and being clad in a course suit, the Lord and Patron passed for his Chaplains servant. This was in the year of our Lord 1646. and the 34. year of his age.

FINIS.

